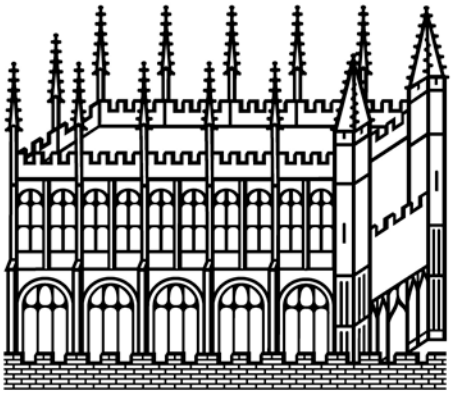

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LIVES

OF

EDWARD AND JOHN PHILIPS.

LIVES

OF

EDWARD AND JOHN PHILIPS.

BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA

S. Freeman, sculpsit

John Bradshaw, Esqr.

Lord President of the Council of State to the

COMMON WEALTH OF ENGLAND.

from a Drawing in the Posession of Alexander H. Sutherland, Esqr

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LIVES

OF

EDWARD AND JOHN PHILIPS,

NEPHEWS AND PUPILS OF MILTON.

INCLUDING

VARIOUS PARTICULARS

OF THE

LITERARY AND POLITICAL HISTORY

OF THEIR TIMES.

BY WILLIAM GODWIN.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

I. COLLECTIONS FOR THE LIFE OF MILTON. BY JOHN AUBREY, F.R.S. PRINTED FROM THE MANUSCRIPT COPY IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM AT OXFORD.

II. THE LIFE OF MILTON. BY EDWARD PHILIPS. PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1694.

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PREFACE.

It is time that tries the characters of men. It is not indeed, what some persons have given it out to be, the universal touchstone, the infallible head of the church of truth. There are inveterate errors, handed down from age to age, which it seems as if no lapse of years had force enough to destroy. But, though time cannot do every thing, it does much.

The character of Milton is one of those which appears to gain by time. To future ages it is probable he will stand forth as the most advantageous specimen that can be produced of the English nation. He is our poet. There is nothing else of so capacious dimensions in the compass of our literature (if indeed there is in the literary productions of our species), that can compare with the Paradise Lost. He is our patriot. No man of just discernment can read his political writings, without being penetrated with the holy flame that animated him. And, if the world shall ever attain that stature of mind as for courts to find no place in it, he will be

the patriot of the world. As an original genius, as a writer of lofty and expansive soul, and as a man, he rises above his countrymen; and, like Saul in the convention of the Jews, "from his shoulders and upward he is higher than any of the people."

I know not how it is with other men; but for myself, I never felt within me the power to disjoin a great author from his work. When I read with delight the production of any human invention, I pass irresistibly on to learn as much as I am able, of the writer's personal dispositions, his temper, his actions, and the happy or unhappy fortunes he was destined to sustain. Lives of Milton have been written in profusion; and each successive biographer has done little more than repeat the tale of his predecessor, with scarcely variety enough, even to the most devoted admirer, to keep the book from falling out of his hand. It struck me however, in ruminating on the subject, that there was one way of approach to considering the history of Milton, that was untouched on, and that promised a new gratification yet in store for those who feel an interest in all that concerns him.

The two persons who constitute the subject of the present volume, were nephews of Milton, were brought up under his roof, and in some measure adopted by him as his sons. Their history therefore affords us an advantage in studying his cha-

racter, which it rarely happens for the admirers of a great genius or a poet to possess. A majority perhaps of such persons have left no offspring behind them; or, if they did, still their offspring was not educated under their own eye, or by their personal exertions; or, lastly, granting both of these to have happened, posterity has known but little of the result of such education, or the subsequent fortune and character of the persons so favoured in their early life. If the Philipses had not been authors, we should perhaps have remained in utter ignorance of their qualities and destination.

It was accident that first threw in my way two or three productions of these writers, that my literary acquaintance whom I consulted, had never heard of. Dr. Johnson had told me, that the pupils of Milton had given to the world "only one genuine production." Persons better informed than Dr. Johnson, could tell me perhaps of half-a-dozen. How great was my surprise when I found my collection gradually swelling to forty or fifty. Thus I accumulated, almost without intending it, a species of knowledge, which probably no other person possessed, and which perhaps few would have the industry to acquire. I have never been, in matters of intellect, or in any thing else, of a selfish and monopolising temper. I began to be afraid that this little handful of knowledge that I had gleaned, should die with me, and resolved to take measures

to prevent that result. The materials were every day perishing; and if I did not seize the passing minute, and reduce the whole into a form capable of being perpetuated, it most probably would never be done. It is now for others to judge of the value of what I have gathered.

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ERRATA.

P. 14, l. 16, *for* " that any one," *read* " for any one."
P. 117, l. 12, *for* " summing," *read* " summing up."
P. 127, l. 20, *for* " Two years," *read* " Four years."
P. 300, l. 5, *for* " Mottuaux," *read* " Motteux."
P. 328, l. 4, *for* " possesses," *read* " possessed."

LIVES

OF

EDWARD AND JOHN PHILIPS.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE OF THE PHILIPSES.—AFFECTIONATE CONDUCT OF MILTON.—TAKES THEM INTO HIS FAMILY.—HIS WRITINGS ON CHURCH GOVERNMENT—ON DIVORCE.—EDWARD PHILIPS AT OXFORD.—CONTROVERSY OF SALMASIUS.—CROMWEL DISSOLVES THE LONG PARLIAMENT—IS DECLARED PROTECTOR.—SENTIMENTS OF MILTON RESPECTING CROMWEL AND THE STUARTS.

THE nephews of Milton were both of them authors by profession. They appeared before the public in this character repeatedly in the course of fifty years, and in that time issued from the press more than forty different productions. In the age in which they lived they were to the full as well known, and as much objects of attention to literary men, as almost ever falls to the lot of authors of a subordinate talent. Much light therefore may be thrown upon the life of Milton, from an examination of the transactions and writings of these men. Yet by no one of the numerous biographers of the poet have they been considered with the slightest degree of attention.

CHAP. I.

Their name was Philips, the elder Edward, and the second John. Yet even this slight point of eldership has shared in the same obscurity which has fallen upon their literary lives. Dr. Johnson, the most indolent of all biographers that have ever obtained any degree of public applause, in mentioning their names expressly places John the first. The point of eldership is explicitly settled by one of the Philipses themselves.[a]

The first notice we receive of them, accompanied with any degree of detail, is in the Life of Milton, written by Edward Philips, and prefixed to a translation of the Letters of State, composed by the great poet, while he filled the office of Latin Secretary to the Commonwealth, and to Oliver Cromwel. Here we are informed that their father, Edward Philips, son of Edward Philips of Shrewsbury, " coming up young to town, was bred in the crown-office in the court of chancery, and at length came to be secondary of that office." Their mother, Ann Milton, only sister to the poet, it is added, " had a considerable dowry given her by her father in marriage."[a] She was probably several years older than Milton, as it appears that one of her children died an infant, when he was in the seventeenth year of his age, 1625.

1625. The earliest of Milton's English poems, in which he gives us in no contemptible degree a foretaste of the sort of writer he was afterward to become, is on the death of this infant. It was written in the first year of his studies at Cambridge. It is full of classical allusion and imagery; the versification is har-

[a] Appendix, No. II.

monious and flowing; and, what is particularly worthy of notice, it displays in a conspicuous manner that affectionate nature, and those true touches of tenderness, which eminently accompanied our poet through all the stages of life. He shews us, particularly in the fifth stanza, with what genuine kindness, and with what melting heart, he had often looked on the *unfortunate child*, shall I say? to whose memory his verses are dedicated.

"Yet can I not perswade me thou art dead,
Or that thy coarse corrupts in earths dark wombe,
Or that thy beauties lie in wormie bed,
Hid from the world in a low delved tombe.
Could Heaven for pittie thee so strictly doom?
Oh, no! for something in thy face did shine
Above mortalitie, that shewed thou wast divine."

The last stanza is particularly extraordinary; and, while it proves in no trivial degree the poet's affection for his sister, certainly surprises us with an uncommon boldness of prophecy, upon which a man of matured understanding would hardly have ventured.

"Then thou, the mother of so sweet a child,
Her false, imagined loss cease to lament,
And wisely learn to curb thy sorrows wild;
Think what a present thou to God hast sent,
And render him with patience what he lent;
This if thou do, he will an offspring give,
That till the worlds last end shall make thy name to live."

Edward Philips, the father, left behind him at his death no other children than the two sons above mentioned, the elder

CHAP. I.

born in the year 1630, and the younger in the year following.[b] His widow married to her second husband Mr. Thomas Agar,

1630,31. the intimate friend of the deceased, who was also appointed his successor in the reign of king Charles the First, and held the office, exclusively of the interruption in the time of the Commonwealth, for many years.[c] By Mr. Thomas Agar the sister of the poet had two daughters, Mary, who died young, and Ann, who was yet living when Edward Philips published his Life of Milton in 1694.

1640. Of the infancy of Edward and John Philips nothing is known. But, when Milton returned from his travels on the continent, recalled, as he tells us, before his time, by the news of the civil distempers of his country, and "thinking it a dishonourable thing, that he should be travelling at his leisure for the improvement of his mind, while his fellow-citizens contended in arms for their common liberty,"[d] one of the first objects of his attention seems to have been the children of his beloved sister. That sister had married again; and he therefore felt it the part of an uncle to take these boys under his care, and in some manner to adopt them for his own. His mind was stored with knowledge of various sorts, acquired by copious industry, and derived from all those sources to which his intelligence and judgment directed him; and believing it to be his portion and business in life to consecrate himself to purposes of usefulness, he regarded it as one indispensible duty, to communicate the knowledge and improvement he had received to a certain number of young and susceptible minds.

[b] Appendix, No. I. [c] Appendix, No. II. [d] Defensio Secunda.

CHAP. I. 1640.

He had therefore no sooner a roof over his head, than he "undertook the education and instruction of his two nephews, the younger of whom he received wholly to his own charge and care." His first lodging was in St. Bride's Church Yard; but, in a short time, "he took a pretty Garden-House in Aldersgate Street, at the end of an entry; and it was not long after, ere his elder nephew was put to board with him also."[c] Edward was at this time ten, and John nine years of age.

It may be entertaining to us to consider, in what light these two lads may be supposed to have regarded their uncle at this time. Milton was now in the thirty-second year of his age. They found in him a mine of learning inexhaustible; they could have no conception of any subject on which he was not able to give them the fullest information; he seemed to have seized the whole world of knowledge as his own, and to have its treasury and all its curiosities fully at command. "He himself gave the example to those under him, of hard study and spare diet."[c] They must have been familiar with the loftiness of his spirit, and the exalted views he took of all science, of man and his affairs, of the principles of right conduct, and the genuine characteristics of a devout spirit. They doubtless soon became acquainted with the friendships he had left behind him in Italy, and the distinction with which he had been regarded in the different courts of that polished country. Milton was already a poet. The first piece he printed was a short copy of verses to the memory of Shakespear, prefixed to the second folio of that author in 1632: the Comus was

[c] Appendix, No. II.

CHAP. I. 1640.

printed in 1637; and the Lycidas occupied the last place, the place of honour, in a Collection of Poems to the memory of Mr. Edward King, which was published by the University of Cambridge in 1638. Edward Philips ingenuously observes upon Milton's system of education, "Had his pupils received his documents with the same acuteness of wit and apprehension, the same industry, alacrity, and thirst after knowledge, as the instructor was endowed with, what prodigies of wit and learning might they have proved!"

Hereafter we shall have occasion more minutely to consider Milton's ideas on the subject of classical instruction. It is sufficient to remark here, that the plan he laid down to himself was extremely elaborate; and we may be sure from the character of the man that it was not indolently executed. He "expounded"[g] to his pupils the authors they read; "his manner of teaching never savour'd the least any thing of pedantry;"[g] he "made his nephews songsters,"[h] and fixed in them a permanent affection for the powers of music; "he was most familiar and free in his conversation, to those to whome most sowre [austere] in his way of education."[h]

Milton however was at this time little known in England; less honoured in his own country, than in the foreign parts he had visited. His ambition to distinguish himself in the highest species of poetry, that species which, when adequately cultivated, most effectually fixes its cultivator in the deathless roll of fame, is first expressed by him in his poem, entitled Mansus, which was probably written in Italy, and in his Elegy

[g] Appendix, No. II. [h] Appendix, No. I.

on the death of Diodati immediately after his return. Influenced however by the distractions of his country, which he states to have been the cause of his hastening to England without visiting Greece as he had previously intended, he condescended to involve himself in the religious controversies of his time. "It was with small willingness that he endured to interrupt the pursuit of his high poetical hopes, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes:"[1] but he imagined he heard the voice of conscience that called him, and immediately he obeyed. "Should the church," says he, "be brought under heavy oppression, and God have given me ability the while to reason against that man that should be the author of so foul a deed; or should she, by blessing from above on the industry and courage of faithful men, change this her distracted estate into better days, without the least furtherance or contribution of those few talents which God at that present had lent me; I foresee what stories I should hear within myself, all my life after, of discourage and reproach."[1] 1641.

These writings of Milton do not seem at first to have added much to his reputation. His learning, in points of ecclesiastical history, was inferior to that of Usher, and perhaps of other controversialists who were engaged on the side of the church of England. His style was harsh, perplexed, and obscure. Every where traces of a writer imbued with a magnificent poetical character burst forth, and there are many

[1] Reason of Church Government, Book ii.

CHAP. I. passages of a surprising and lofty eloquence; but these are suffocated in the general quaintness of the composition, and
1641. the sombre and monotonous tone which prevails throughout. Men of a genuine taste, in the present day, read these productions with ardour, eager to trace the mind and character of Milton through every step of their progress. But such motives could not apply with equal force to his contemporaries.

The pamphlets here spoken of were published in the years
1643. 1641 and 1642. In 1643 Milton married. The event is thus related by his nephew: "About Whitsuntide it was, or a little after, that he took a journey into the country; nobody about him certainly knowing the reason, or that it was any more than a journey of recreation: after a month's stay, home he returns a married man, that went out a bachelor."

The sequel of this marriage is well known. After a few weeks' residence in a house where every thing was conducted with philosophical simplicity, the bride expressed a desire to spend the remainder of the summer with her family in Oxfordshire. Her father kept "a great house," and was accustomed to "much company and joviality;" and when the limited period of her absence was expired, she refused, notwithstanding various applications from her husband, to return.

Milton felt acutely the contempt which was thus put upon him, and the disadvantages of his situation, being according to the laws of his country a married man, without obtaining any
1644, 5. of the benefits for which a married life is chosen. His own misfortune in this respect led him into an examination of the grounds and merits of the law under which he suffered, and

produced his two treatises of "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," and "Tetrachordon, or an Exposition of the Four Chief Places in Scripture, which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage." These are productions of a superior character to the pamphlets he had previously written on Church-Government and Episcopacy. Not that there are not passages of the highest grandeur and eloquence in these last; but that there is a want of mastery and method in the general texture of the work. The books on Divorce on the contrary are written with the most entire knowledge of the subject, and with a clearness and strength of argument that it would be difficult to excel. 1644, 5.

The question which Milton examines is a very curious one. There is an apparent contrariety between the law of Moses, and the language of Jesus Christ, on the subject of divorce: which of these is it most becoming for a Christian state to adopt as its rule of judgment? The law of Moses sanctions divorce for *incompatibility of temper;* but Jesus Christ pronounces that "whosoever shall put away his wife except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery." Milton's argument upon this opposition is, that what Moses has said is to be taken for law, and what Christ has said, for advice. The author of the Christian religion expressly assures us, that he "came not to destroy the law [that is, the law of Moses]," and adds, that, "till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law." Christ's "kingdom is not of this world:" nothing was farther from his conception, than to originate civil or canon laws, which society should by force of penalties bind upon its mem-

CHAP. I. 1644, 5.

bers: and therefore it is a great abuse of his instructions, to transform them into instruments for restraining men by force from the use of their former privileges, instead of maintaining us "in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free." This is Milton's main argument. The subtlety and manly reason with which he has expounded the places it became him to consider, are in the highest style of excellence to which such disquisitions can be carried; and his treatises are interspersed with the most profound and striking reflections on the case as to its natural reason.

But we cannot fully understand the merits of Milton's productions on this subject, without entering a little into the history of the question. The laws respecting marriage, of which Milton complains, and which have since become fixed as principles on the subject in all Christian countries, are a branch of the canon law. They originated in the times of Popery, and have a very obvious tendency to strengthen the power of the hierarchy, by attributing to it the privilege of interfering in and deciding upon the dearest and most intimate connection which subsists among human creatures. At the period therefore of the change of religion, which was effected in the century previous to that in which Milton lived, it became a very serious question among the reformers, whether the law of marriage did not require revision, in common with a multitude of laws in which the church, in the period of papal usurpation, had interposed its authority. Luther, Melancthon, Martin Bucer, Grotius, and many others held the affirmative of this proposition. The whole body of those men, who opposed the government of Charles the First, and whose opposition brought

on the civil war, were of opinion that the church of England, as established in the time of Elizabeth, was not sufficiently reformed from the errors of Popery. They particularly objected to prelacy, liturgies, and many other institutions, which made a part of it. This therefore seemed to be a time eminently suited to the enquiry, whether the reformers abovenamed or their opponents were in the right on the subject of marriage. The question indeed was held to be of such importance at the period in which Milton wrote, that in the year 1646 Selden, the prodigy of his time, who was regarded by his contemporaries as an oracle of reason and learning, who had read every thing, and by whom nothing was ever forgotten, published a treatise in defence of the very same principle that Milton maintained, entitled *Uxor Hebraica*. It can therefore scarcely be doubted that Milton's treatises on divorce added greatly to his consideration in the literary world. At the same time, from the delicacy and moment of the question he treated, and its peculiar application to his domestic history, it will readily be believed that they opened the mouths of cavillers and censurers against his reputation. CHAP. I. 1644, 5.

These writings of Milton were published in 1644 and 1645. In the latter of these years he also issued from the press his Areopagitica, or Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing, the most splendid of his prose works in English, and a volume of Poems, including Comus, Lycidas, *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso*, which, if he had published nothing else, it will not now be doubted, places him as the most eminent poet, after the times of Shakespear, in the English language. 1645.

After about seven years' residence in Aldersgate Street and 1647.

CHAP. I. 1647. its neighbourhood, Milton gave up his projects of education, and removed to a smaller house which looked into Lincoln's Inn Fields. Perhaps one of the motives of this change was, that by this time he had done every thing for his nephews that he had ever proposed to do. Edward Philips speaks of his education under Milton as having continued five or six years: it terminated therefore about the beginning of 1646. In this new situation Milton devoted himself to study and quiet; and here it was that he wrote that portion of the History of England which he afterward gave to the public.[l]

1648. In the beginning of March 1648 Edward Philips became a student of Magdalen Hall in the university of Oxford, where he continued till 1651, but left the university without taking a degree. These were the times of the greatest fanaticism. It was in January 1649, that Dr. Thomas Goodwin, who without impropriety may be styled the ghostly confessor to Oliver Cromwel, was, through the influence of his great patron, appointed president of Magdalen College in Oxford. While he was in possession of this office, the incident occurred, which is so well related by Addison in the Spectator.[m] Anthony Henley, father to the lord chancellor Northington, and one of the wits of the reign of queen Anne, was at this time "a young adventurer in the republic of letters, and just fitted out with a good cargo of Latin and Greek. His friends were resolved that he should try his fortune at an election which was drawing near in the college, of which the independent minister whom I have before mentioned [Dr. Goodwin] was governor. The

[l] Defensio Secunda. [m] No. 494.

youth, according to custom, waited on him in order to be examined. He was received at the door by a servant, who was one of that gloomy generation that were then in fashion. He conducted him, with great silence and seriousness, to a long gallery, which was darkened at noon-day, and had only a single candle burning in it. After a short stay in this melancholy apartment, he was led into a chamber hung with black, where he entertained himself for some time by the glimmering of a taper, until at length the head of the college came out to him from an inner room, with half-a-dozen night-caps upon his head, and religious horror in his countenance. The young man trembled: but his fears increased, when, instead of being asked what progress he had made in learning, he was examined how he abounded in grace. His Latin and Greek stood him in little stead; he was to give an account only of the state of his soul; whether he was of the number of the elect; what was the day of his conversion; upon what day of the month and hour of the day it happened; how it was carried on, and when completed. The whole examination was summed up with one short question, namely, Whether he was prepared for death? The boy, who had been bred up by honest parents, was frighted out of his wits at the solemnity of the proceeding, and by the last dreadful interrogatory; so that, upon making his escape out of the house of mourning, he could never be brought a second time to the examination, as not being able to go through the terrors of it."

It is needless to observe that this story is exaggerated to such a degree, as nearly to border on farce. It is not in human nature, what is here related; bigots and enthusiasts laugh like

CHAP. I. 1648.

other men, and are, more than many others, capable of discerning humour, and displaying striking and peculiar traits of character; no president of a college, or head of a public institution, would hang his apartments with black, and close his windows at noon-day, on purpose to frighten a freshman; and, if Addison means to insinuate that intellectual cultivation and classical learning were discountenanced under the dominion of Cromwel, he insinuates something wholly unsupported by the history of the times. Yet, after every deduction that can fairly be made on these accounts, there is enough remains, to give us a strong and just feeling of the gloomy and severe temper of the times.

It was this same Dr. Thomas Goodwin, to whom Cromwel seriously proposed the question in his last illness, whether he were entirely satisfied of the truth of the Calvinistic doctrine of the Perseverance of the Saints, or that it was impossible that any one who had ever been in a state of grace, and the object of God's election, to fall from this happy state, and become the object of his final displeasure? Goodwin replied, that this was as certain, as that God was true. Then, said Cromwel, my mind is at rest; I am sure I was once in communion with God, and the object of his favour; therefore I am one of those little ones, who "shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of his hand."[n]

It was probably by the exaggerated fanaticism Edward Philips found at Oxford, and the morose character of those who had the chief authority there, that he and many other

[n] Kennet, Complete History of England, *ad annum*.

young men of a free and ingenuous spirit, were first driven into the opposite extreme, and sought refuge from the rigour and formality of the saints, in the libertine and riotous principles and demeanour of the young cavaliers. CHAP. I. 1648.

The character of Milton was by this time sufficiently fixed; and his connections were such, as to introduce him, soon after the death of the king, into the situation of Latin secretary to the government that succeeded. No sooner was he placed in this office, than he was applied to by those who were then in power, to write, first, a rejoinder to the celebrated royalist pamphlet, named Eikon Basilike, which he published under the title of Eikonoclastes, and secondly an answer to the *Defensio Regia pro Carolo Primo* by Salmasius. 1649.

The latter of these undertakings constituted a great crisis in the literary character of Milton. Salmasius had already acquired the highest reputation for intellectual powers in general, for critical acumen and sagacity, and for a thorough mastery of classical and elegant learning. He reigned alone over the learning of his times; nor was a man any where to be found, hardy enough to cope with him in any subject he thought proper to treat. Among other distinctions that attended him, the most dazzling was the friendship of the far-famed Christina queen of Sweden, daughter of the illustrious Gustavus Adolphus. She invited him to her court, and assigned him apartments in her palace; and as from the unaccustomed severity of the climate he was during almost the whole of his residence confined to his bed, we are told that the queen would sit for hours by his bed-side, delighting herself with his conversation, and from time to time making up his

CHAP. I.

fire, and doing other necessary offices for him, that their interviews might be uninterrupted."*

Milton however was not appalled by the reputation of his antagonist. Another obstacle that was thrown in his way, was the prediction of his physicians, that from the weak state of his eyes, it was almost certain that his sight would become
1651. the sacrifice of his labour. He persisted, and in the year 1651 published his well known *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano.*

It was in reality necessary to the character of the government which then subsisted, that the proud and vaunting performance of Salmasius should not go without an answer. It was necessary to the vindication of that large and respectable part of the people of England, who had either been actively concerned in bringing Charles to the scaffold, or avowedly approved the deed, that the scurrilous and arrogant invectives of this great literary champion should be repelled. Latin at this time was the great medium of communication between persons of a refined education in the different countries of Europe, and the principal means by which the sentiments, the reasonings, and the real tone of the proceedings of the prevailing party in England, could be made known to the continent.

Never did any book more completely fulfill the ends for which it was produced, than this work of Milton. It was every where received on the continent with astonishment and applause. The ambassadors of the different governments of Europe, at that time resident in London, paid visits of compli-

* De Laudibus et Vita Salmasii, prefixed to his Epistles in 4to. 1656.

ment to the author. It had the honour to be burned by the hands of the common hangman at Toulouse and at Paris. Lastly, having been perused by Christina queen of Sweden, she was struck with the eloquence of the composition, the strength of the reasoning, and the vigour with which its author exposed the futility, the sophistry, and contradictions of his antagonist, spoke on all occasions warmly in its praise, and from that hour withdrew her favour from Salmasius. This redoubted champion sank under his defeat, withdrew himself into obscurity, and soon after died in Holland.[p] 1651.

Antony Wood relates that it was a frequent custom, for foreigners of distinction to resort to the house in Bread Street, to visit the chamber in which Milton was born.[q] When I first read this anecdote, I applied the honour it expressed to the author of Paradise Lost. But the fire of London, in which this house was consumed, occurred one year before the publication of this great work. The honour unequivocally belongs to the *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano.*

The first book that appeared in answer to Milton's celebrated work, was a mean performance in Latin, variously attributed to one Janus, a lawyer, and to Dr. Bramhall, a *protégé* of the earl of Strafford, and by him made bishop of Derry.[r] It was on this occasion that the younger Philips, now twenty-one years of age, and as he calls himself, *ingenii vixdum pubescentis*, undertook, with the zeal and ardour so characteristic of that period of human life, to essay his talent against a production 1652.

[p] Defensio Secunda. [q] Athenæ Oxonienses, Vol. i, Fasti, A. D. 1635.

[r] Appendix, No. II. Mr. Todd has since ascertained that it was written by one John Rowland, an episcopal clergyman.

CHAP. I. 1652.

unworthy of the notice of his illustrious uncle, and thus to discharge a part of the gratitude he owed for the inestimable benefits he had derived from Milton. This is his own account of his proceeding: "*Equidem cum in Patriam pietate, tum instauratæ nuper Libertatis apud nos amore ductus, necnon illi etiam viro mihi semper observando, quem iste insectatur, multis officiis devinctus, non poteram, quin hujus ineptissimi nebulonis petulantiam retundendam mihi, ne rogatus quidem, susciperem.*"[r]

The sentiment expressed in this passage is extremely beautiful and honourable. The Philipses, as will appear in the sequel, were both of them men of no despicable abilities. Much of their accomplishments and the powers with which they were ultimately endowed, they unquestionably owed to the assiduous care which Milton had bestowed upon their education. He was a man of great virtue, and of a purity of heart seldom paralleled among the inhabitants of earth. He had devoted himself to the greatest objects the human mind is capable of contemplating, to liberty, to the interests of true religion, and to the advancement of the intellectual attainments, the energies, and the moral wisdom of his species. Happy would it have been for his nephews, if they had always thought, as Milton thought. Honourable would it have been for them among men, and lovely and glorious would it have rendered their names to posterity, if in return for the immeasurable bene-

[r] "Stimulated therefore, in the first place, by the duty I owe to my country, and the love of that liberty which has lately been restored to it, and in the next place, remembering the duty in which I am bound, and shall ever hold myself bound, by a thousand considerations, to the venerable individual whom this huffing braggart attacks, I could not prevail upon myself not to attempt, thus voluntarily and uninvited, to repress his insolence."

fits they received from Milton in early life, they had devoted a part of all their following years to the succouring his infirmities, the propelling all attacks upon his reputation, and as far as circumstances would admit, the propagating his principles. CHAP. I. 1652.

We know little of the situation John Philips occupied in early life, or whether he applied himself to any particular profession. In Milton's office of Latin secretary, it is probable that he would stand in need of clerks to assist him, and it is not unlikely that at least the younger of his nephews served him at that time in such a capacity.

Edward Philips relates of his brother's performance, that "the task of answering the anonymous Apology was committed to him by Milton, but with such exact emendations before it went to the press, that it might very well have passed for his uncle's work, but that he was willing the person that took the pains to prepare it for his examination and polishment, should have the name and credit of being the author." In this kind of statement there is always a certain degree of deception. It appears even upon this relation, that John Philips had the office of preparing the manuscript for his uncle's inspection. Whatever care therefore Milton might employ in polishing and correction, the result might be that the Latinity should not be liable to censure: he might even point some of the sentences, and add here and there a noble epithet, or a sarcastic and epigrammatic stroke: but he could not change the texture of the work. In such an employment, as he has himself expressed his condition on another occasion, he could indeed have "only the use of his left hand."[1]

[1] Reason of Church Government, Book II.

CHAP. I. 1652.

The Apology of John Philips was published in 1652, and about the same time Milton, whose health was now in a somewhat languishing state, removed to a house opening into St. James's Park, convenient for his duties as secretary, where he resided about eight years, that is, till within a few weeks of the Restoration of Charles the Second. It was in this year that his sight, which had been for the eight preceding years on the decline, was totally lost to him.[t] The sharpness of this calamity consists in its rendering the unfortunate subject of it a prisoner, and placing him wholly at the mercy of others. He cannot go any where, but as he is led. He may be cheated in all his transactions, and robbed by every one that approaches him. He can neither be amused, nor permanently employ his hours to any useful purposes, without the assistance of those about him. Such was the situation of Milton in the forty-fourth year of his age, and he survived this calamity twenty-two years.

The manner in which he bore this misfortune is well known, and was most admirably expressed by him two years after, when one of the persons engaged in the controversy with him, reproached him on this account.[t] "*Me sortis meæ neque piget, neque pœnitet; immotus atque fixus in sententia persto; Deum iratum neque sentio, neque habeo, immo maximis in rebus clementiam ejus et benignitatem erga me paternam experior atque agnosco; in hoc præsertim, quod solante ipso atque animum confirmante in ejus divina voluntate acquiescam. Huc refero quod et amici officiosius nunc etiam quam solebant, colunt, observant, adsunt. Quin et summi quoque in republica viri, quandoquidem non otio*

[t] Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cœlum.

torpentem me, sed impigrum et summa discrimina pro libertate inter primos adeuntem, oculi deseruerunt, ipsi non deserunt. Neque ego cæcis, afflictis, mœrentibus, imbecillis, tametsi vos id miserum ducitis, aggregari me discrucior, quandoquidem spes est, eò me propius ad misericordiam summi Patris atque tutelam pertinere. Est quoddam per imbecillitatem, præeunte Apostolo, ad maximas vires iter: sim ego debilissimus, dummodo in mea debilitate immortalis ille et melior vigor eò se efficacius exerat; dummodo in meis tenebris divini vultus lumen eò clarius eluceat; tum enim infirmissimus ero simul et validissimus, cæcus eodem tempore et perspicacissimus; hac possim ego infirmitate consummari, hac perfici, possim in hac obscuritate sic ego irradiari." [u]

CHAP. I. 1652.

Hitherto Milton had felt well satisfied with the political state and condition of his country. He participated in the 1653.

[u] "I do not regard my lot either with weariness or compunction; I continue in the same sentiment fixed and immoveable; I do not think my God displeased with me, neither is he displeased; on the contrary I experience and thankfully acknowledge his paternal clemency and benignity towards me in every thing that is of the greatest moment; specially in this, that, he himself consoling and encouraging my spirit, I acquiesce without a murmur in his sacred dispensations. It is through his grace that I find my friends, even more than before, kind and officious towards me, that they are my consolers, honourers, visitors, assistants. Those who are of the highest consideration in the republic, finding that the light of my eyes departed from me, not being slothful and inactive, but while I was with constancy and resolution placing myself in the foremost post of danger for the defence of sacred liberty, do not on their part desert me. Nor is it an occasion of anguish to me, though you count it miserable, that I am fallen in vulgar estimation into the class of the blind, the unfortunate, the wretched, and the helpless; since my hope is, that I am thus brought nearer to the mercy and protection of the Universal Father. There is a path, as the Apostle teaches me, through weakness to a more consummate strength: let me therefore be helpless, so that in my debility the better and immortal vigour of our human nature may be more effectually

CHAP. I. 1653. celebrated decision of a bishop of modern times,[w] that "when Cromwel overturned the constituted powers of Great Britain, the spirit of liberty in this island was at its height, and its interests were conducted and supported by a set of the greatest geniuses for government the world ever saw embarked together in one common cause." Milton was in habits of friendship with most of them; he revered the virtuous and inflexible spirit of Bradshaw; he fully appreciated the subtle genius, subjected as it was to the guidance of the purest intentions, of sir Henry Vane; and he honoured most of the chiefs of the republican party with a distinct panegyric in his *Defensio Secunda*.

But the time was come when this great council of patriots was to be divided and dispersed. At the instant that the remainder of the Long Parliament was consulting for its own dissolution, and preparing a suitable government to succeed with the freest system of representation that Great Britain ever knew,[x] Cromwel came among them with a band of armed soldiers, and put an end to their proceedings. He saw that he had not a moment to lose; fortune had raised him nearly to the topmost round of his ambition, but lawless violence only could establish him there. He took away the

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displayed; so that amidst my darkness the light of the divine countenance may shine forth more bright: then shall I be at once helpless, and yet of giant strength; blind, yet of vision most penetrating: thus may I be in this helplessness carried on to fulness of joy, and in this darkness surrounded with the light of eternal day."—*Defensio Secunda*.

[w] Warburton, Notes on the Essay on Man.

[x] Ludlow, 8vo. p. 435, 455. Perhaps the best passage in Whitelocke is that in which he laments this deplorable catastrophe.

mace, he emptied the hall where the parliament was assembled, and locked up the doors. The same day he published a declaration misrepresenting all that they did, averring that they had come to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, and were preparing to fill up the vacancies in their body with new elections.[y] CHAP. I. 1653.

In the afternoon Cromwel proceeded to finish his work by dispersing the council of state, with whom the executive government was reposed, and on this occasion the undaunted president, Bradshaw, addressed him in these memorable words: "Sir, we have heard what you did at the house this morning, and before many hours all England will hear it: but, sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dissolve them, but themselves; therefore take you notice of that."[z]

Yet Cromwel by no means alienated the whole republican party by the violence of this proceeding. The Long Parliament had sat more than twelve years, and in that period had sustained many revolutions. It had at first been under the guidance of the Presbyterian party, and then of the Independents. The object of its proceedings had at first been a monarchy, with such limitations as were dictated rather by their resentments and a quick feeling of the grievances which had long been sustained, than by a just investigation into the principles of government; their sentiments afterward became plainly republican. Their assembly had repeatedly sustained external violence, and been twice purged of many of its most

[y] Heath's Chronicle, *ad annum.* [z] Ludlow, p. 461.

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active members. It had long imposed taxes on the people, in prosecution of the great contest in which it was engaged, beyond the experience of any former times. Lastly, the constitutional executive being finally removed by the death of Charles the First, the executive power became avowedly vested in a council of state. Men do not easily brook a sovereign authority exercised over them by such as a few days before were their equals; there is nothing in a board of council, calculated to seize upon the imagination; and soldiers, who had vindicated the cause of liberty, and conquered in the field, were apt to look with a certain degree of superciliousness and disdain upon the gowned senator, who, as they understood it, while others had sustained the blows, and spilled their blood in the cause, entered quietly and without risk into the fruits of their labours. For these reasons many were of opinion that it was time that the Long Parliament and its authority should be discarded, and that the state should be renovated by a new infusion of vigour from another quarter. Accordingly, Harrison, Overton, Rich, Okey, and others, men of the purest principles concerning the public good, encouraged and supported Cromwel in his violence of the twentieth of April.

Another trial however was shortly after in reserve for the patriots of England. In December of the same year Cromwel brought forward what he called his Instrument of Government. Into this declaration he incorporated much that was good, from the concluding projects of the calumniated parliament which he had dissolved in April; but its leading feature was the devolving the executive power upon Cromwel, under

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the style of Lord Protector of England. This necessarily shocked in the highest degree many of those who had been most active to assist him in the dispersion of the Long Parliament, but who, together with himself, had again and again protested in the most fervent manner against a government by a *single person*. He was therefore reduced for his own safety to exercise a violence, to which he never had recourse but when, politically speaking, it could not be avoided. Harrison and Rich were sent prisoners to remote castles; Overton was shut up, first in the Tower, and afterward in the isle of Jersey; Vane was imprisoned in Carisbrook Castle, the very place which had been the scene of the longest severities exercised against Charles the First; Okey was cashiered; and Ludlow was held to bail.

Still Milton adhered to the protector. Cromwel had long, and justly, won for himself "golden opinions from all sorts" of those men, who placed the welfare of their country in a republican government. There was something so plain, so rough, so frank, so honest in him, that it was impossible for a man of an open spirit to distrust him. His professions for the cause of true religion and true liberty had been ardent; nor had they probably been more ardent, than sincere. "A friend is not to be deserted for every cause;" and the man of greatest integrity, in the pursuit of some momentous good, will often stand in need of a liberal construction. If Bradshaw and Vane had condemned Cromwel in the dissolution of the Long Parliament, Overton, of whom Milton says, that "through a long series of years, from the similitude of their studies, and the sweetness of this officer's manners, he had considered him

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as joined to himself in the dearest ties of brotherhood [*concordiâ plusquam fraternâ conjunctissimè*],"[z] and other men not less virtuous than Overton, applauded the deed. If then Overton condemned the precipitation of these illustrious labourers in the public cause, might not he in his turn be also exposed to the charge of rashness?

Milton was strongly impressed with the opinion, that if the public cause was to be saved, there was no man more eminently fitted than Cromwel for the performance of the glorious task. Milton thought he saw the express hand of Providence in the events by which the monarchy had been overthrown, and the following government established; and proceeding in such reasonings, he viewed in Cromwel the instrument of Providence for good to a favoured people. Above all, he believed that nothing was so much to be deprecated as the restoration of that government, which through so many sacrifices, by so many labours, and with such an expense of blood, had at length been abolished.

Nor was Milton the only man of high honour and great public principle, that adhered to Cromwel in the questionable eminence to which he was now risen. Lawrence, Sydenham, Montagu, afterward earl of Sandwich[a] [whom Warton by a

[z] Defensio Secunda.

[a] The personal qualities of Cromwel, his invincible courage, the generosity of his nature, the evenness of his temper, the suddenness and clearness of his decisions, and his superlative talents for business, generated an ardent attachment to the man in some of the most gallant spirits of the age. Roger Boyle, lord Broghill, afterward earl of Orrery, was one of these; and the earl of Sandwich another. He began his career at nineteen years of age, with many gallant exploits in the parliament army. He was earnest in his importunities with Cromwel, to take upon himself the title of king. After

ridiculous mistake turns into the earl of Manchester: *Note on Milton's twentieth Sonnet*], and Philip, afterward earl of Leicester, men of whom our author speaks in terms of the most fervent applause, condescended to take their seats in the council of state, which was appointed when Cromwel took on himself the office of protector. CHAP. I. 1653.

It was some time in May 1654 that Milton presented to Cromwel, by the hands of Andrew Marvel, his *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*, which is distinguished, among other memorable features, by a delicate flattery toward that extraordinary man, less calculated to soothe his ambition and love of power, than to stimulate him by a consideration of the favour with which Providence had distinguished him, and the opportunity put into his hands to secure the character and liberty of his country to the latest generations, to consider himself as placed on a stage that would render the disinterestedness or iniquity of his proceedings imperishable. Never did 1654.

the death of the protector, he did his utmost to support his son; and no sooner was a party formed to destroy Richard's authority, than Montagu, together with lord Broghill, lord Howard, afterward earl of Carlisle, and some others, repaired to the young protector, undertaking that if he would not be wanting to himself, and would delegate to them a sufficient authority, they would raise him above all his enemies. Richard, however, refused their offer, declared that he would not consent that a drop of blood should be shed on his account, and resigned his sceptre; and all these persons, despising the plainness of the republican leaders, immediately went over to the party of the Stuarts. After the Restoration, the earl of Sandwich made a most distinguished figure in the naval service of his country; and in the year 1672, provoked, as it is said, by an ungenerous expression of the duke of York, commander of the fleet, he suffered himself to be blown up in his ship, the Royal James, in the battle of Solebay, having first provided for the safety of his surviving men, and himself remaining the only person on board.

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a private man, not to say a servant of the government, talk to the individual in whose hands the supreme power of that government was reposed, in a tone of more manly expostulation, or more conscientious and fervent exhortation, than Milton has employed in this work.

The *Defensio Secunda* is beyond comparison the most admirable of the prose-works of Milton. It is in reply, in hunting an adversary through all his windings, and turning all his seeming advantages into weapons for his entire discomfiture, that the great mastery of a controversialist is shown; and in all these qualities Milton was never excelled. He also speaks of himself, provoked by the savage attacks of his antagonist, in the most graceful manner; he convinces you that he is one of the greatest and most virtuous of mankind, without once falling into those littlenesses of vanity, which are so apt to break out in a man talking advantageously of himself. And, finally, the fervour of his patriotism raises him to an almost superhuman eloquence, and he pours out the dictates of his virtuous anxieties for the public good, in strains, that scarcely any man can listen to, without becoming for the time like unto him.

After the publication of the *Defensio Secunda* Milton ceased for some years to write on political subjects, except in the single instance of a closing performance in the controversy begun with Salmasius, which he named, perhaps significantly, *Joannis Miltoni Defensio pro Se*, Milton's Defence for Himself (hereby insinuating that there was no longer a public to defend).

It is difficult, even at this distance of time, to appreciate the merits of Cromwel's conduct, subsequently to the period

when he took on himself the office of protector. He was intoxicated with the love of greatness. The effect which this had on him is well illustrated in a passage of sir Philip Warwick. "The first time that I ever took notice of him, was in the very beginning of the parliament held in November 1640: I came one morning into the house, and perceived a gentleman speaking, very ordinarily apparelled, whom I knew not; his linen was plain, and not very clean; his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour. And yet I lived to see this gentleman, when I was a prisoner for six weeks together, and daily waited at Whitehall, appeare of a great and majestick deportment and a comely presence."

Cromwel's measures towards foreign courts were full of ability and decision, and well calculated to sustain the character and political influence of his country. His intelligence was amazing; and it was principally by this means that he baffled all the intrigues of the royalists. But his internal policy was feeble, variable, and highly injurious to the temper and political courage of his countrymen. He was no doubt considerably soured by the inflexible opposition of the men, whom in his heart he esteemed the most. Whether out of deference to the opinion of those who had originally raised him to power, or from some remains of the love of liberty in his own breast, he instituted, by the very instrument that gave himself his office, a memorable equality in the representation of his country. But representatives so chosen, could never be made subordinate to his will. They began with questioning the functions and foundation of his office. Cromwel therefore never

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called a parliament, but to commit violence upon it, to disgrace the name of parliament, or to disgrace himself. The whole of his ill-omened administration for a term of nearly five years, was a series of despicable experiments on the nature of government, calculated to bring the very names of patriotism and republic into contempt.

Milton felt bitterly his disappointment in the man, whom he had considered as above all others qualified to be the saviour of England, and the guardian genius of liberty. There was however one thing that he feared much more than the ephemeron usurpation of Cromwel, the restoration of the Stuart family, of Stuart morals, and Stuart policy. This sentiment taught him to temporise even with the protectorate. Officially he had no concern but with the foreign politics of Cromwel, and his foreign politics he for the most part approved; therefore he did not abdicate his post of Latin secretary. But he absented himself from court, except when absolutely called thither by his duties. He says of himself in a letter, dated December 18, 1657, to a young friend who had written to him to solicit the office of secretary to our ambassador in Holland: "I am grieved that it is not in my power to serve you in this point, inasmuch as I have very few familiarities with the *gratiosi* of the court, who keep myself almost wholly at home, and am willing to do so." His sentiments are still more decisively expressed in a letter written to Henry Oldenburgh, the tutor to lord Ranelagh, who had formerly been the pupil of Milton;[b] the letter being dated in the year following upon

[b] Oldenburgh was secretary to the Royal Society in the reign of Charles the Second.

Cromwel's death. "Far be it from me to think, as you seem to desire, of writing the history of our late convulsions; which are indeed more worthy to be forgotten, than to be commemorated: nor does my country now stand in need of a person to record her intestine commotions, but of one qualified to bring them to an auspicious conclusion." Beside these private testimonies, Milton also publicly indicated his judgment of the late protector, by a motto annexed to a publication brought out by him a short time before the Restoration, entitled, The Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth. In this motto he alludes to the noble and courageous advice he had given to Cromwel in the *Defensio Secunda;* and writing on the present occasion to the people of England, towards whom he purposed using the same privilege, he says,

..... *Et nos*
Consilium dedimus Syllæ: demus populo nunc.[c]

[c] Time was I frankly uttered wholesome truths
In Sylla's ear: nor will I question now
With honest counsels to awake the people.

The first clause of this motto is taken from the first page of the Satires of Juvenal: the second is supplied by Milton.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF PARTIES.—EPISCOPALIANS AND PURITANS.—PERSECUTION OF LEIGHTON, PRYNNE, BURTON, BASTWICK, WILLIAMS, AND OSBALDISTON.—LICENTIOUSNESS OF THE CAVALIERS.—POLITICAL PARTIALITIES OF THE NEPHEWS OF MILTON.

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WHILE the heart of Milton was thus anxiously attentive to the "signs of the times," and meditating if by any means his country might be saved, his nephews passed over to the enemy's standard. The situation is not unlike that of Brutus after the expulsion of Tarquin, when his two sons, Titus and Tiberius, entered into a secret conspiracy with the Aquilii and the Vitellii, the foes of their house, for the restoration of that policy, or rather of that corruption, for the abolition of which their father had risked his all, and upon the justice and benefit of whose destruction he had pledged his fame to the latest posterity.

The character of the two parties who had engaged themselves for and against the house of Stuart at this time, is not generally understood. The assertors of liberty were not only at war with the incroachments of the princes who succeeded on the death of Elizabeth; they were also adherents of a religious party, called the Puritans. In this character they stood up for a purer form of worship and a stricter course of moral discipline, and were fervent in their invectives against

the relaxation and licentiousness which, they said, were growing up in the state. CHAP. II.

This had a singular and an unfortunate effect on the court. The name of Puritan was a familiar appellation for every one that was distasteful to the government; and therefore all that were anxious to be acceptable there, found it expedient to be as unlike Puritans as possible. They were afraid of sobriety, decency, and gravity, for these were Puritanical qualities. "The payment of civill obedience to the king and the lawes of the land satisfied not; if any durst dispute his impositions, he was presently reckoned among the seditious and disturbers of the public peace, and accordingly persecuted: if any were grieved at the dishonour of the kingdome, or the griping of the poore, or the unjust oppressions of the subject, by a thousand wayes, he was a Puritane: if any, out of mere morallity and civill honesty, discountenanced the abominations of those days, he was a Puritane: if any gentleman in his country maintained the good lawes of the land, or stood up for any publick interest, for good order or government, he was a Puritane: in short, all that crost the viewes of the needie courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the theevish projectors, the lewd nobillity and gentrie; whoever could endure a sermon, modest habitt or conversation, or aniething good, all these were Puritanes; and if Puritanes, then enemies to the king and his government, seditious factious hypocrites, ambitious disturbers of the publick peace, and finally, the pest of the kingdome."[a]

[a] Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, 8vo. vol. I. p. 121.

CHAP. II.

This is a description of the court feelings, as they stood in the reign of James the First. The decorum and personal innocence of his son tended in some degree to check the tide of corruption; but still the same system of thinking prevailed. It is curious to observe that no poet could expect to be allowed to enter under the court standard, till he had written some piece of gross and shocking indecency; and accordingly in the volumes of Carew, of Suckling, of Cleveland, of Denham, there uniformly occurs one or two copies of verses of this description, not written, if we may judge from the general tenour of their works, so much to gratify any inherent depravity of their dispositions, as by way of an oblation offered up to the demon of the times. It was upon the same principle, that because the Puritans exclaimed against profane stage-plays, the queen and her ladies of honour acted them at court, to give a defiance to the squeamish; and it is probably in the same way, that we are to account for the assiduous publication from the pulpits, of the king's declaration requiring the people to refresh themselves with sports on a Sunday. It is the ordinary policy of governments, to temporise with the prejudices of their subjects; it was the policy of king Charles's court, to omit no occasion of shocking the opinions of that numerous and formidable body of the then people of England, called the Puritans.

The character of the government of Charles the First cannot be fully understood without recurring to the proceedings of his great favourite, archbishop Laud. This man perhaps came behind no one that ever existed, in intolerance, and the cruelty which grows out of that spirit. The harsh sentences

which were pronounced at his instigation, in the High Commission Court and the Star Chamber, were the immediate causes of the abolition of those courts. The characteristic of these sentences was an utter disregard of the situation their unfortunate victims had previously filled in society, and in this respect an entire levelling of ranks and conditions. CHAP. II.

The first victim of Laud's severity was Dr. Leighton, who had been professor of moral philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, and was father of the archbishop of that name. He was brought before the star-chamber for having written a book in which the ecclesiastical administration was censured; and for this offence he was sentenced to be twice publicly whipped, to be set twice in the pillory, to have his nose slit, and his ears cut each time, to be branded in both cheeks, to be imprisoned for life, and to pay 10,000*l.* to the king. All this was faithfully executed (the fine I suppose excepted), and he was liberated, after eleven years confinement, by the Long Parliament in 1640, being then seventy-two years of age. 1629.

William Prynne was a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and a man universally respected for his astonishing learning and industry. Being chosen into the Long Parliament, he made a memorable speech against the sentence of death pronounced upon Charles the First, which was regarded as a master-piece by the adversaries of that measure. This man published in 1632 a large volume, entitled *Histrio-Mastix*, which was taken hold of by Laud, in revenge for some writings of Prynne against Arminianism, and some professional opposition he had lent against the court of high commission. In the index to this book there was a reference, "Women-actors notorious Whores," and 1633.

CHAP. II.

this was charged as a libel on the queen, she having acted in a certain pastoral at court, though it was proved that the book had been published six weeks before the pastoral was acted. Prynne's sentence was, to stand twice in the pillory, to lose his ears, to be disabled from his profession, to be imprisoned for life, and to pay 5000*l.* to the king.

1633.

1637. A memorable day in the life of archbishop Laud was June 14, 1637. On that day a joint sentence was pronounced by the star-chamber on three offenders. Prynne, though a prisoner, still contrived to publish books at which the government took offence. Henry Burton, the second of the persons arraigned, was a clergyman, and had been successively clerk of the closet to prince Henry, and to Charles the First, when prince of Wales. He was brought to trial for two sermons he had preached at his own parish-church in Friday Street. To these were added Dr. Bastwick, an eminent physician; as if on purpose to show that no distinction in any of the learned professions should exempt a man from the most rigorous persecution. His accusation also was for some supposed libel. The answers of these gentlemen were refused to be admitted, because the counsel assigned, alarmed at the arbitrary proceedings of the star-chamber, declined to sanction them with their signatures. They were therefore proceeded against, as having confessed; and their sentence was to stand in the pillory, to lose their ears, to pay a fine of 5000*l.* respectively, and to be imprisoned for life. Prynne was not excused from that part of his sentence which respected his ears, on account of what he had before suffered; but the executioner was required to do what he could, and he was further to be branded in the

cheeks. Prynne was sent to Jersey, Burton to Guernsey, and Bastwick to the isle of Scilly.

But the man in all the world perhaps that Laud hated the most, was Williams, archbishop of York, who had for four years been lord keeper of the great seal to king James the First, had attended that prince in his last moments, and had closed his eyes. The reason of this hatred probably was, because Williams was the most eminent prelate of his time, an able courtier, and the most formidable rival Laud could have to encounter. The contest however was speedily decided in this respect; Charles began his reign with the most marked favour to Laud, and discountenance to Williams; and had Laud had a particle of generosity in his nature, he would have been moved to spare his baffled competitor. Williams on the other hand did not come much behind in dislike, and no doubt had pleasure in annoying his rival from his compulsory retreat. For this purpose he took hold of some innovations Laud was eager to introduce in the church, and wrote against them, but with great learning and temperance. But the paltry arts used by the successful churchman to ruin the other, are almost without a parallel in history. From the beginning of the reign Williams was forbidden the court. In the year 1628 an absurd accusation was brought against him in the star-chamber, of "revealing the king's counsels;" and by the arts of his adversary this question was not decided till 1635, when the charge was finally dismissed. Out of this trial Laud conjured up in the following year a fresh information, on an alleged ground of having "tampered with the witnesses" then pro-

CHAP. II. duced. Though this charge was no better supported than the former, the accuser was by his invincible pertinacity more successful in obtaining a sentence; and Williams sank under the prosecution, without the loss of any portion of his popularity and reputation. It was decreed against him that he should pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and be suspended from his episcopal functions, and imprisoned during pleasure.

1637.

The very persons who were employed in sifting out evidence to support the prosecution, were now commissioned to distrain on Williams's property, and sell off his moveables for the payment of his fine;[b] and in the pursuit of this occupation they met with certain letters addressed to the archbishop, in which some person was spoken of obscurely by the epithets of a *little great man*, and a *little urchin*. These names Laud took to himself; and upon them a new accusation was constructed against Williams, and Osbaldiston, master of Westminster School, the writer of these letters. The sentence against Williams was a further fine of eight thousand pounds for receiving libellous letters, and against Osbaldiston, the head of the first seminary for classical learning in England, and the schoolmaster of Cowley, to whom with filial reverence he inscribed the first production of his muse, the poem of Pyramus and Thisbe; that he should pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and have his ears nailed to the pillory before his own school. Osbaldiston however saved himself by flight; and left a note in his study, directing that, "if archbishop Laud enquired

1639.

[b] Hacket, Life of Williams.

for him, he should be informed he was gone beyond Canterbury."[c] CHAP. II.

Such was the tenour of the administration of justice under the government of Charles the First. Is it to be wondered at, that every free spirit throughout the realm rose up with indignation against such a mockery of law? Shall it be charged as the artifice of a party, when the Long Parliament met in 1640, and the house of lords claimed Williams as their member, when Osbaldiston came forth from his hiding-place in Drury Lane, and by a vote of the house of commons Leighton was set at liberty, and Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick sent for from their remote places of confinement; that as these three approached London, they were met some miles on their way by five thousand persons with branches of laurel and bay, their road strewed with flowers, and themselves brought into the metropolis, amidst shouts of joy and exultation, that such merciless and insolent tyranny was at length at an end? 1640.

To return from this digression, and to proceed with the spirit of the party by whom Charles was principally supported, as it further developed itself in the progress of the civil wars.

[c] The successor of Osbaldiston was the celebrated Richard Busby, a man perhaps of a very different character; at least if we may judge from a pamphlet in the collection of Sir Joseph Banks, entitled, A True Narrative of the Difference between Mr. Busby and Mr. Bagshaw, concerning the Flogging of the Boys at Westminster School, wherein Mr. Bagshaw, the Second Master, contends that the Poor Little Boys should not receive 30 or 40, sometimes 60, Lashes at a Time for Slight Faults. Quarto, 1650. [Wood seems to have noticed this pamphlet, art. Bagshaw; but, for obvious reasons, has suppressed the latter part of the title.] It is not to be believed, that such a remonstrance did not check the career of this grammatical tyrant; and as Busby was undoubtedly an excellent scholar, and a man of strong understanding, he might afterward deserve the compliments which were paid him by Dryden.

CHAP. II. 1640. They called themselves cavaliers, that is, men of a gay and unfettered life, and of manners frank and somewhat overbearing. England at this time presented a singular spectacle; the most active persons in the two great parties into which her inhabitants were divided, being for the most part of characters wholly opposite and irreconcileable. The Puritans, or Roundheads as they were called, were men of great sobriety and reflection; they piqued themselves upon the innocence of their conduct and the justice of their lives; they carried their ideas of sanctity and demureness to some degree of excess; but there was a depth of good sense and firm thinking in the friends of liberty in this age, that will with difficulty permit any impartial observer to laugh at or despise them. The partisans of the court, as has been already said, were somewhat spoiled by their too great eagerness to be unlike their opponents. Swearing and drinking, ribald talk and dissolute living, were too often embraced as the characteristics of a gentleman. There was unfortunately no man of transcendent abilities at this time, to give a tone to the adherents of the king. And when we run over the names of sir John Suckling and Endymion Porter, of lord Jermyn and lord Digby, the earl of Holland and the marquis of Hamilton, the esteemed ornaments of the court of Charles, we can have small hopes of much energy, or of that exertion which should renovate a party. The list of the king's ministers is almost more insignificant than this.

1642. The most memorable action of Charles's life was his attempt to seize the five members. When he went in person to the house of commons for this purpose, he had with him an irre-

gular attendance of three or four hundred men, whom Milton affirms to have been "the ragged infantry of stews and brothels, the spawn and shipwreck of taverns and dicing-houses."[d] Symmons, in his Vindication of King Charles, published about one year before the death of that prince, says, "Profaneness and impiety in some of our side hath weakened us, and aided our enemies. Hence is the source of our sorrows, and of their good success. Never any good undertaking had so many unworthy attendants, such horrid blasphemers and wicked wretches, as ours hath had: I quake to think, much more to speak, what mine ears have heard from some of their lips. But without all question, neglect of religion, and want of discipline, hath weakened and undone the king's armies."

And this brings us to the express consideration of the Aquilii and Vitellii, the persons with whom the Philipses, these new traitors to their country and to their more than father, associated. In the obscurity of their story, it is not possible to fix upon the precise individuals, but it is easy to designate the class, of which they became the allies.

If the character of the royalists during the period of their great struggle was such as is above specified, that character was far from improved by their defeat and the despair to which they were subsequently reduced. They became fugitives and vagabonds; their practice was duplicity, and their daily meditation plots and conspiracies. They had little reputation to support, and they became careless of the decorums and decencies of life. Like what is related of the Jews under

[d] Eikonoclastes, Sect. III.

CHAP. II.

the severities of their march through the wilderness, they longed for the servile, but sensual enjoyments they had participated during their slavery in Egypt. It has commonly been said that Charles the Second and his court became profligate in consequence of their exile in France. But that is not exactly the case. It has already appeared that very fit materials for the character they afterward displayed, were furnished by the court and the army of Charles the First. Undoubtedly they were made worse by exile. Undoubtedly a king, driven from country to country without almost the means to sustain him, and whose sister, according to the report of cardinal de Retz, was found lying in bed for want of fuel to warm her elsewhere, was wanting in some of those motives to which the decorums and dignity of kings are ordinarily indebted. A king is an artificial and unnatural personage; but a king in exile is a creature still more anomalous. It was an additional disadvantage, that the nation in the midst of which Charles's little court principally resided, were of a religion hostile to that in which he had been brought up. It has often been remarked that a traveller who resides many years in foreign countries, generally brings back with him an indifference to all religions. For persons so young as Charles the Second and his brothers, there is scarcely any medium, between that, and the becoming a convert to the religion of the people with whom he is a visitor.

The court of Charles consisted principally of persons rapidly changing the place of their abode, being at one time attendant on their master, and at another secretly employed in his business, in a country where they longed once again to fix their

abode. The delight of the wits of this court was principally in buffoonery, an enjoyment we so often find eagerly resorted to by persons under the pressure of desperate circumstances. Clarendon, though sufficiently disposed to engage in measures of despotism and treachery, was ruined a few years after the Restoration, merely on account of his gravity and inflexible decorum. Davenant, who in his Gondibert had shown himself a truly profound and philosophical, as well as perhaps a sublime poet, though himself a royalist, was chosen for a butt by these frolicsome personages, four of whom brought out in 1653 what they called Certain Verses written by several of the Author's Friends, to be reprinted with the Second Edition of Gondibert. Three of the authors were Dr. Donne junior, son to the admirable contemporary and friend of Ben Jonson, sir John Denham, and sir Alan Broderick; the name of the fourth has not come to my knowledge. The whole of this production is in that style of loathsome scurrility, which would not now be endured.

Donne, one of the authors of this pamphlet, wrote several other things, and among the rest the dedication to the celebrated Lucy countess of Carlisle, prefixed to sir Toby Matthews's Letters, 1660. This dedication is in his usual spirit of buffoonery, and in the course of it he does not fail to lament, that his friend, whose work he is editing, has not sent him since his death a letter (or dedication) from the other world, with which to ornament his book. "But I presume," adds he, "he was unwilling to send by the ordinary posts of heaven, thunder or lightning, as being messengers too rude to come into your ladyship's presence."

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The countess of Carlisle, in allusion to whom Waller, when speaking of Venus, calls her

"The bright Carlisle of the court of heaven,"

may deserve some attention from us, while we are endeavouring to appreciate the court and adherents of the two Charleses. She is called by the author of the Life of Virgil, prefixed to Dryden's translation of that poet, "the Helen of her country," and is affirmed by the writer of the Life of Waller, prefixed to his works, to have been "thought to be as deeply concerned in the counsels of the court, and afterwards of the parliament, as any in England." This lady was daughter of the earl of Northumberland, and aunt to Waller's Sacharissa. She married, when under eighteen years of age, and without her father's consent, James Hay earl of Carlisle, an experienced and favourite courtier of James the First, a man of graceful manners, of unbounded expence, and of a hard and profligate heart. She became a widow in the year 1636, and it was about this period that sir Toby Matthews wrote a character[e] of her, which in its time was exceedingly admired. In this paper she is described as of the most dazzling beauty and the most bewitching manners, but in reality entirely indifferent to the interests and happiness of every one but herself. "She is of too high a mind and dignity, not only to seek, but almost to wish the friendship of any creature: they whom she is pleased to chuse, are such as are of the most eminent con-

[e] This character is printed in the front of sir Toby Matthews's Letters, and in the notes to Fenton's edition of Waller.

dition, both for power and employments; not with any design towards her own particular, either of advantage or curiosity; but her nature values fortunate persons as virtuous. They who are even as it were in her very veins, as brothers and sisters, she extreamly loves; but she values them more as they are so to her; she wants not also kindness to their children. But such as are more removed from her, she considers no otherwise, then as streams which run too far off to have any participation of her excellencies."

The countess of Carlisle is represented by lord Clarendon, as particularly uniting her interests with the earl of Holland, who was "a very handsome man, of a lovely and winning presence, and genteel conversation," and had been in an eminent degree the *protégé* and confident of her husband as long as he lived. This young man was for a long time a most successful courtier, and from his qualifications in this respect merely, was intrusted with the command of the horse in Charles's first expedition against the Scots in 1639, where he made a very indifferent figure. Upon the decline of the king's interest however in the Long Parliament, both these persons attached themselves to the prevailing party, to whom the countess had an opportunity to do an essential service, by procuring, through her familiarity with the queen, intelligence of Charles's design to go in person and seize the five members, and by giving them notice just in time to enable them to withdraw themselves. Actuated by the love of change, or the fear of what might ensue, the earl of Holland once more deserted the parliament, and went over to the king at the

CHAP. II.

siege of Gloucester in 1643, in company with the earls of Bedford and Northumberland; but Charles by his customary ungraciousness drove these new adherents from him, and compelled them once more to take shelter in the parliament quarters. In 1648 the countess and the earl again distinguished themselves in the royal cause; the countess of Carlisle pawned her jewels, that she might furnish soldiers to fight for the king; and the earl of Holland, being taken prisoner with arms in his hands, paid the penalty of his tergiversation on the scaffold, about six weeks after the death of his sovereign.

Sir Philip Warwick, a grave writer, speaking of the countess's conduct in the affair of the five members, says, she "had now changed her gallant from Strafford to Mr. Pym, and was become such a she-saint, that she frequented their sermons, and took notes:" and though there is little probability in this representation, it may serve to illustrate the reputation in which her ladyship was generally held.

The character of the royalist and cavalier wits of this time cannot be dismissed without one or two further remarks. Alexander Brome, one of the popular poets of the discontented party under the commonwealth, is vouched for by the venerable Isaac Walton, as having written

> "Such songs, as virgins need not fear
> To sing, or a grave matron hear."

Yet whoever will be at the pains to turn over the volume to which this commendation is prefixed, will find it contains some

pieces by no means unstigmatised with pruriency and lasciviousness, the common stuff of the times. For the rest of the songs, they are generally characterised with a levity and convivial jollity, treating the saddest events of the times with a sort of half droll, half serious tone; a style of feeling that certainly never generated one lofty, grand, generous, or truly heroic character, one character such as Milton was formed to approve and to love. There is one other poet of these times, particularly entitled to our notice for several memorable circumstances, calling himself R. Fletcher. This man was so far ranked among "the prime wits, his contemporaries," that upward of sixty pages of his volume of poems are inserted without acknowledgment, in several editions of the works of their beloved Cleveland, an author whom "grave men in those times have not spared to affirm the best of English Poets."[f] This Fletcher however, not content with a reasonable portion of ribaldry and licentiousness dispersed through his own pieces published in the year 1656, has incorporated with them a translation of more than three hundred Epigrams of Martial. But what surprises one in this case is the choice he has made. There is scarcely any book of so various a character, as the Epigrams of Martial. It contains beautiful exhortations to an independent spirit, and generous sallies of an honourable mind, such as Cowley loved to translate, and Cowley has translated in the most admirable manner. And it is a curious repository of details of all the varieties of inventive debauchery, in an

[f] Theatrum Poetarum, by Edward Philips.

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age and country that greatly exceeded all other in profligacy; details that astonish our credulity, and fill the soul with inexpressible loathings. Fletcher has not failed to select these, and exhibit them at full length and in the plainest words.

CHAPTER III.

SATYR AGAINST HYPOCRITES.—MYSTERIES OF LOVE AND ELOQUENCE.

CHAP. III. 1655.

It was in the year 1655, that sufficient proof was afforded by the younger of Milton's nephews, of the connections he had formed, and the habits to which he was addicting himself, by the publication of a poem, entitled a Satyr against Hypocrites. This production was once highly admired, and underwent a great number of impressions. It is certainly written with considerable talent; and the scenes which the author brings before us, are painted in a very lively manner. He describes successively a Sunday, as it appeared in the time of Cromwel, a christening, a Wednesday, which agreeably to the custom of that period was a weekly fast, and the profuse and extravagant supper with which, according to him, the fast-day concluded. The christening, the bringing home the child to its mother who is still in confinement, and the talk of the gossips, have a considerable resemblance to the broadest manner of Chaucer. But Chaucer applied his talents in a different mode; he indulged his native vein of humour; but he contemplated nothing further in this, than sport, and relaxing the muscles of his readers. The production of John Philips is an undisguised attack upon the national religion; upon

CHAP. III. 1655.

every thing that was then visible in this country and metropolis under the name of religion; and that at a time when it was universally conceived that the religious and political state of the country were inseparably united. Whoever attacked the religion then universally practised, could in the best construction aim at nothing better than the restoration of the hierarchy; and it was then firmly believed that the restoration of the hierarchy would involve along with it the restoration of the monarchy. Another feature sufficiently memorable, by which this poem is characterised, is that the author misses no opportunity of insinuating into the mind, as he goes on, impure and lascivious ideas. This is singularly contrasted with the momentous object of his work, and still more so with the lessons he must always have received from Milton, the most unpolluted, and in this sense the most austere of all writers. It affords however no unequivocal indication of the company now kept by the author, with cavaliers, and *bons vivans*, and demireps, and men of ruined fortunes. The whole poem is in one continued strain of buffoonery. In the conclusion however he affects to redeem all his preceding ribaldry by a solemn apostrophe; and as this is conceived with considerable energy, and delivered in smooth versification, a few lines extracted from it may serve as no unfavourable specimen of the author's abilities.

> "Oh, what will men not dare, if thus they dare
> Be impudent to Heaven, and play with prayer!
> Play with that fear, with that religious awe,
> Which keeps men free, and yet is mans great law.

What can they but the worst of atheists be,
Who, while they word it 'gainst impiety,
Affront the throne of God with impious deeds?
'Tis this that wonder in the atheist breeds.
Are these the men that would the age reform,
That, *Down with Superstition!* cry, and swarm
This painted glass, that sculpture to deface,
Yet worship Pride and Avarice in their place?
Religion, they bawl out, yet know not what
Religion is, unless it be to prate.
Meekness they preach, yet study to controul;
Money they 'd have, when they cry out, *Your soul.*—
" Can they the age thus torture with their lies,
Loud bellowing to the world impieties,
Black as their coats,—and such a silent fear
Lock up the lips of men, and charm the ear?
Had that same holy Israelite been dumb,
That fatal day of old had never come
To Baal's tribe! Oh, thrice unhappy age!
While Zeal and Piety lie mask'd in Rage
And vulgar Ignorance! How do we wonder,
Once hearing that the Heavens were forc'd to thunder
Against assailing giants! Surely men
(Men thought) could not presume such violence then:
But 'twas no Fable; or, if then it were,
Behold a bolder sort of mortals here!"

In 1658 a book was published by Edward Philips, in which he sufficiently proved himself a proficient in the same school as his brother. The title of this book is, "The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence: or the Arts of Wooing and Complementing; as they are managed in the Spring Garden, Hide Park, the New Exchange, and other Eminent Places. A Work, in which is drawn to the Life the Deportment of the most Accomplisht Persons, the Mode of their Courtly Enter- 1658.

CHAP. III. 1658.

tainments, Treatments of their Ladies at Balls, their Accustom'd Sports, Drolls and Fancies, the Witchcrafts of their Persuasive Language in their Approaches, or other more Secret Dispatches. And, to compleat the Young Practitioner of Love and Courtship, these following Conducive Helps are chiefly insisted on: Addresses, and set Forms of Expressions for Imitation, Poems, Pleasant Songs, Letters, Proverbs, Riddles, Jests, Posies, Devices, A-la-mode Pastimes, a Dictionary for the making of Rimes, four hundred and fifty Delightful Questions, with their several Answers. As also Epithets, and Flourishing Similitudes, alphabetically collected, and so properly applied to their several subjects, that they may be rendered admirably useful on the sudden occasions of discourse or writing. Together with a New Invented Art of Logick, so plain and easie, by way of questions and answers, that the meanest capacity may in a short time attain to a perfection in the ways of arguing and disputing."

This book is put together with conspicuous ingenuity and profligacy, and is entitled to no insignificant rank among the multifarious productions, which were at that time issued from the press, to debauch the manners of the nation, and bring back the king. It consists of imaginary conversations and forms of address for conversation,—poems,—models of letters,—questions and answers,—an art of logic, with examples from the poets,—and various instructions and helps to the lover for the compositions of his verses; and if we could overlook the gross provocations to libertinism and vice which every where occur in the book, it might be mentioned as no unen-

tertaining illustration of the manners of the men of wit and gallantry in the time when it was published. CHAP. III. 1658.

Of the poetical part of the volume it is impossible to say what degree of the merit occurring in it, is to be ascribed to Edward Philips, as a considerable portion of the pieces of which it consists, is undoubtedly the production of elder authors. Percy has avowedly taken from this volume the beautiful song,

> " Come, follow, follow me,
> You, fairy elves that be:" [a]

but it is probably the composition of some preceding writer. We also find in it the song of the Old and New Courtier,[b] which is likewise in Percy, and exhibits a very interesting picture of the grave manners and generous hospitality of queen Elizabeth's days, contrasted with the dissipated behaviour and hardness of heart, which were considered as coming in with king James. This probably is to be regarded as the composition of a period not long posterior to the union of the two crowns. Sir John Suckling's airy, but somewhat licentious, Ballad upon a Wedding forms one of the miscellanies of this book.[c]

[a] Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, Vol. III, Book ii, Song 25.

[b] Ibid., Vol. II, Book iii, Song 8.

[c] Sir John Suckling's Ballad upon a Wedding, and the Song of the Old and New Courtier, are not to be found in the first edition of the Mysteries of Love and Eloquence. These, together with a beautiful piece, entitled, " Alas, poor scholar, whither wilt thou go?" a song of Tom of Bedlam, also in Percy, and another of The Friar and the Maid, are all the additions I have observed in the subsequent editions of Edward Philips's collection.

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There occurs also a drolling Song upon the Tombs in Westminster Abbey, which is ascribed by Winstanley to John Philips, the author of the Satyr against Hypocrites. This is a presumptive circumstance; in addition to the more direct evidence, arising from the initials, E. P., subscribed to the Preface and Epistle Dedicatory, which in like manner serve to designate the author in the title-page of the New World of English Words, published in the year following by the same bookseller, Nathaniel Brook,—and proves that Edward Philips was the real author of the book.

A good specimen of the style of this curious volume may be taken, from the "Set Forms of Expression, Inserted for Imitation," about the middle of the book.

"You are the miracle of friendship.
"You are the usurer of fame.
"My genius and yours are friends.
"I will unrip my very bosom to you.
"My tongue speaks the freedom of my heart.
"With your Ambrosiack kisses bathe my lips.
"Sure winter dwells upon your lip, the snow is not more cold.
"Oh, I shall rob you of too much sweetness.
"The sun never met the summer with more joy.
"It is no pilgrimage to travel to your lips.
"You are a white enchantress, lady, you can enchain me with a smile.
"Her name, like some celestial fire, quickens my spirit.
"Midnight would blush at this.
"There is musick in her smiles.
"I will celebrate my mistress health to you.
"I will, like the perfumed winde, sport with your hair.
"Report could never have a sweeter air to fly in, than your breath.
"Would I were secretary to your thoughts.
"You walk in artificial clouds, and bathe your silken limbs in wanton dalliance."

CHAP. III.

The Questions and Answers, which occupy thirty or forty pages in this volume, are of a very curious sort. They are strangely compounded, now of smart strokes of wit and repartee, or what was intended for such, and now of facts of science or natural philosophy intended for the instruction of weaker heads. They are interspersed, like every other part of the book, with veins of vulgarity and obscenity, and the author apparently never misses an occasion of saying what he would have called severe things, against Puritans and hypocrites. There were a certain set of men assiduously employed in decrying the order of things which then prevailed, and indirectly preparing the way for the restoration of all that the patriots of 1640 had abolished. 1658.

It is singular enough, that the conduct here recited of the two Philipses, nephews of Milton, occurred at the very time that the virtuous Cowley publicly renounced his opposition to the government now established in his country. Cowley in this instance certainly proved himself no prophet; but there is something so inexpressibly beautiful and engaging in the feeling with which he was animated, showing how much less he felt himself bound to his party, than to the general welfare and happiness of human nature, that it is well worth while to insert here the expressions of this sentiment, as they stand in the Preface to the edition of his Poems in 1656, which have been suppressed in all the editions that have been printed since his death. 1656.

"I have cast away," says he, giving an account of the pieces of which the volume consists, "all such pieces as I wrote

CHAP. III. 1656.

during the time of the late troubles, with any relation to the differences that caused them; as among others, Three Books of the Civil War itself, reaching as far as the first Battel of Newbury, where the succeeding misfortunes of the party stopt the work; for it is so uncustomary, as to become almost ridiculous, to make lawrels for the conquered. Now though in all civil dissentions, when they break into open hostility, the war of the pen is allowed to accompany that of the sword, and every one is in a maner obliged with his tongue, as well as hand, to serve and assist the side which he engages in; yet when the event of battel, and the unaccountable [unfathomable] will of God has determined the controversie, and that we have submitted to the conditions of the conqueror, we must lay down our pens as well as arms, we must march out of our cause itself, and dismantle that, as well as our towns and castles, of all the works and fortifications of wit and reason by which we defended it. We ought not, sure, to begin our selves to revive the remembrance of those times and actions for which we have received a general amnestie, as a favor from the victor. The truth is, Neither we, nor they, ought by the representation of places and images to make a kind of artificial memory of those things wherein we are all bound to desire like Themistocles, the art of oblivion. The enmities of fellow-citizens should be, like that of lovers, the redintegration of their amity. The names of party, and titles of division, which are sometimes in effect the whole quarrel, should be extinguished and forbidden in peace under the notion of acts of hostility. And I would have it ac-

counted no less unlawful to rip up old wounds, then to give new ones; which has made me not onely abstain from printing any things of this kinde, but to burn the very copies, and inflict a severer punishment on them my self, then perhaps the most rigid officer of state would have thought that they deserved."

CHAPTER IV.

DEATH OF CROMWEL.—DUPLICITY OF MONK.—DECLARATION AT BREDA.—PROCLAMATION FOR THE SURRENDER OF THE REGICIDES.—THEIR TRIAL AND EXECUTION.—TRIAL OF SIR HENRY VANE.—ACT OF UNIFORMITY.—ACT AGAINST CONVENTICLES.

CHAP. IV. 1658.

THE death of the Protector in September 1658, opened a new view of things on the English nation, and revived the hopes of the two great parties into which the country was divided, the royalists and the republicans. The royalists looked with an eager and impatient eye for a day of confusion. What was conscience, and the source of a thousand anxious thoughts, and meditations, and fears, to their antagonists, was to them sport, and hilarity, and laughter. They shook their very sides with complacency, at the still varying and shifting scene they contemplated. They cried out to their adversaries to go on, to try one experiment after another for the public welfare, to waste their days and nights in contrivances and projects for a virtuous and liberal scheme of equal policy; and they trusted, that when the minds of men had been strained to the utmost stretch in expectation of the noblest frame of government, and they had seen the generous efforts of Harrington, and Nevile, and Wildman, and Martin, and Algernon Sydney, contending for some time, with uncertain success, against the lawless ambition of Lambert and Monk, the English nation would at

length grow tired of seeing so deep a stake played for like a game of chance, and out of mere fatigue and indifference subside into the old rule of the Stuarts, as that which was next at hand, and which promised the greatest degree of permanence. CHAP. IV. 1658.

The republicans on the other hand thought that they should now be able to settle, in a way the most conducive to the public welfare, the great and momentous question of—government to be placed in the hands of *a single person*. Richard Cromwel quietly succeeded to his father in the title of protector; but they foresaw that that would prove no considerable obstacle to the furtherance of their views. After a reign of less than eight months Richard was deposed, and the remainder of the Long Parliament, that assembly, with the fall of which fell Vane, and Bradshaw, and Martin, and Ludlow, and all the first and strictest race of the republicans, was restored to its house and its honours. This event occurred on the sixth of May 1659; and one of their first acts was to fix the period of their dissolution for May in the following year, thus allowing themselves twelve months to place the government of the nation on the most advantageous footing. 1659. May 6.

These hopes however were blasted, and the parliament was a second time dispersed by the army. Lambert attempted to play the part, which Cromwel had acted six years before. The members received an intimation of what was intended, and came to a vote, dismissing Lambert and six or seven officers, his confederates, from their employments; but this measure failed in the execution, and open force became, at least for the present, triumphant. While Westminster Hall was surrounded Oct. 13.

CHAP. IV. 1659.

with soldiers, which the parliament had called to their assistance, Lambert planted his forces in the adjoining streets to prevent the members from proceeding to their place of meeting, and compelled the speaker and the rest to return to their several habitations. An end, similar to that effected by Cromwel, was thus once more put to the sittings of the legislature. The regiments brought together to protect its assembling, had not the confidence to draw their swords under this unexpected conjuncture.

In the afternoon of the same day, colonel Sydenham[z] made a speech in the council of state, justifying the violence which had been acted, and even representing as an interposition of Providence the lawless acts of the unprincipled commander. But president Bradshaw, the man on various accounts of most authority among the republicans, though very weak, and much extenuated by sickness, rose from his seat, and interrupted him, declaring his abhorrence of that detestable action, and telling the council, that being now going to his God, he had not patience to sit there, and hear his great name so blasphemed; and thereupon he departed to his lodgings.[a] Bradshaw died on the eighteenth day following.

This interruption however seemed to be but a temporary cloud. Lambert had not character enough to support himself in the bad eminence to which he aspired. Cromwel was formed to delude the minds of men. His hypocrisy, a thing far removed from what is ordinarily known by that name, was

[z] He has been mentioned before, page 26. [a] Ludlow, p. 726.

fervent, and excited sympathy and created awe in the beholders. The bluntness of his manner, and the occasional familiarity of his deportment, even to the entire emptying himself of all extrinsic and accidental greatness, won the favour of those with whom he had intercourse. There was something deep in his conceptions, that none of his assistants could fathom. He was moderate in his temper, and forbearing in his actions, never allowing himself in violence, more frequently, or to a greater extent, than was necessary to his purposes. Add to which the firmness and courage of his spirit, and the greatness of his abilities, whether to procure intelligence, or to overawe the insidiousness and crooked hostility of foreign courts; and we shall own that he was most singularly fitted for the station he filled. Lambert wanted every thing but the will, to be a Cromwel.

The evil which at this time put an end to the hopes of the best men in the state, rose from another quarter. Monk was the commander in chief of the parliamentary army in Scotland. He was a man of an inscrutable temper; and in cold blood played with the hopes and fears of all parties, without communicating himself frankly to any. He does not appear however to have been of an ambitious and enterprising mind; and the part he had to play, seems to have been rather forced upon him by circumstances, and accommodated to the reservedness of his disposition, than to have grown out of any strong or peculiar features of character. He chose it, as the part in which he could acquire the greatest thanks with the smallest hazard. He saw that the party in favour of the monarch was by no means inconsiderable; and he perceived that

CHAP. IV. 1659. all indifferent persons inclined that way, as to the measure which promised the greatest stability. A king could reward him with titles and estates, the meed most suitable to an unenterprising man; if he served the republic, he knew neither who were his masters, nor what they would do for him; and to possess himself of the vacant supremacy was a thought that had no charms for him.

With all this coldness of calculation, Monk declared for the parliament, the moment he heard of the violence committed upon it by Lambert. Lambert marched into the north to subdue the opposition of his rival, who, agreeably to his ordinary habits, dissembled and temporised. Meanwhile a new enemy to Lambert arose in his rear. The parliament, encouraged by his absence, and the declarations of Monk, resumed their sittings on the twenty-sixth of December. One of their first mandates directed the dispersion of Lambert's
1660. army; and by the second of January, he was left almost without a follower. Meanwhile Monk advanced into England. Between Leicester and Nottingham he was met by the deputies of the legislature. The immediate question at issue was, how the parliament should be constituted. If it were made up of the same members which Cromwel first, and Lambert afterward dispersed, it was a republican assembly. If the presbyterian members who had been expelled in 1647, and had never sat afterward, were restored, there would then be a majority for the king; for the presbyterians, either indignant at the triumph of a party in religious sentiments scarcely different from themselves, or from an inherent timidity and poverty of soul, had long declared in behalf of the monarchy.

To Scot and Robinson, the parliamentary deputies, Monk engaged to support the parliament as it was; to lord Fairfax, and the presbyterian leaders who beset him on all sides, his promises were of a directly opposite tendency. The former were given in public; with the latter he soothed his new friends in private, who would otherwise have become desperate. But, though his language took different directions, there was one thing in which he was unequivocal; he advanced with rapid strides toward London.

The first decisive measure embraced by him was to apply to the parliament by a letter dated from St. Albans, for permission to quarter his troops in the metropolis, and for that purpose desiring them, that they would order all the regiments at that time in London, except two which he named, to retire to certain distances; and with this request the parliament acquiesced. From that moment he was in reality sole master, and could do as he pleased. But his innate love of mystery, and propensity to indirect measures still prevailed, and showed themselves in one remarkable instance. January 28.

The city of London was at this time under the influence of a loyal spirit, and went too fast for the wary proceedings of the general. Among other things the common council came to a resolution that they would pay no taxes, but such as were imposed by a free parliament. The sitting members, still republican, became alarmed at such an overture of disobedience, and ordered the general to march into the city, to seize eleven persons, authors of this resolution, and, as a mark of censure on the corporation, to take down and break to pieces the portcullises and gates of London. Point by point, February 9, 10.

CHAP. IV. 1660. Monk yielded obedience to the mandate. This was no sooner done however, than he began to suspect that he was made the tool of the persons he meant to betray, and that by too nice an adherence to the rule of neutrality, he would be understood to have declared himself in favour of those who still appeared to hold the reins of government. He hastened there-

February 11. fore to retrieve his error. The next day he requested an interview with the lord mayor, apologised for what he had done, and assured him that they had both of them a common object, the speedy assembling of a new and a free parliament, to whom the settling the affairs of the nation should be wholly confided.

March 16. Still Monk persisted to the last in the same mystical way of proceeding. Even after the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and while the new elections were every where going on, sir John Granville having been commissioned by the king to open a communication with the general, and accordingly requesting an interview, Monk at first refused to see him unless he would previously state the nature of his business;

March 17. and Granville having declined that, and a conference at length taking place, Monk saw him without a single witness, and Granville having put the particulars of what passed between them in writing to assist his memory, the general obliged him to tear the paper in pieces in his presence, and to engage that he would not communicate their conference to any one but Charles himself.[b]

Thus cautiously, and under the severest bonds of secrecy,

[b] Continuation of Baker, *ad annum*.

the Restoration was at length effected. One of the obstacles that most strongly opposed it, was the terror entertained by multitudes, implicated either in the war against Charles the First, or in the subsequent measures, of the vengeance that would be inflicted by the royalists, the moment they had all power in their hands. The new king anxiously applied himself to counteract this alarm, and for that purpose prepared a declaration at Breda, dated April 14, which was presented to the new parliament on the first of May following. In this May 1. declaration he published "a free and general pardon to all, except only such persons, as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament: those only excepted," he proceeds, "Let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given by this present Declaration, That no crime whatsoever, committed against us, or our royal father, before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against any of them, to the least endamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations." He goes on afterward to add, "Because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion."

On the twenty-ninth of May king Charles entered London, May 29. and visited the two houses of parliament. The attention of the legislature was turned without loss of time to the giving

CHAP. IV. 1660. effect to the king's declaration at Breda, and it was immediately voted that seven should be the number of the persons actively concerned in the death of Charles the First, against whom the law should be allowed to take its course; these seven were then named, Harrison, Scot, Lisle, Say, Barkstead, Holland, and Jones; and a proclamation was issued on the June 6. sixth of June, summoning the rest, who were therein specified, to surrender to the speaker of either house of parliament, or to the lord mayor of London, upon pain of being excluded out of the general pardon, and losing their estates. Twenty persons surrendered themselves upon the faith of this pro- Oct. 9. clamation. In the course of the month of October three of the persons above excepted, Harrison, Scot and Jones (the Oct. 13. others having escaped) were brought to trial and executed. To supply, as it seemed, the place of those who fled, capital punishment was also inflicted on Carew, Clement and Scroop, regicides, as well as on Axtel, who commanded the guard at the High Court of Justice that tried the king, Hacker, who was employed in the same manner at the execution, Coke, who pleaded the cause against him, and Hugh Peters, who by his sermons had perhaps contributed to the catastrophe. The most memorable circumstances attending this event, were, first, the undaunted courage with which the sufferers met their fate, feeling that they were martyrs of a public principle, and that they died for an action in which they had strictly conformed themselves to the dictates of their consciences; and, secondly, the peculiar rigour with which the sentence of the law, in all its most revolting particulars, was put in force against them.

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But this bloody scene did not satisfy the resentments of the partisans of the royal cause. Great changes took place, between the issuing the king's proclamation for the surrender of the regicides, and the final passing of the act of indemnity. Every thing that respected it, was in a perpetual state of fluctuation. The earl of Bristol, late lord Digby, moved, that no one should be admitted to the benefit of the pardon, who had in any wise contributed to the late king's death. This, as Hume observes, was "so wide an exception, that every one who had ever served the parliament, either in a civil or military capacity, might be deemed to be comprehended in it." At length, forty-two of the king's judges (including the twenty who had surrendered) were given up to the course of the law, with a proviso in favour of those who had surrendered, that if they were condemned, they should not be executed, without the special direction of the king and parliament: six others were rendered liable to such pains, penalties and forfeitures as should be inflicted upon them, not extending to life; and twenty or thirty more, "active instruments in the late usurpations," with Vane and Lambert at their head, were reserved for such penalties as should by parliament be thereafter declared. A clause was also inserted, excepting the estates of Oliver Cromwel, and twenty-four more persons, judges of Charles the First, who had died in the interval, from the benefit of this law.

Aug. 29.

It presently appeared how much more wisely those men, among the persons who had sat on the trial of Charles the First, had judged, who sought their safety in foreign countries, than those who were "decoyed to surrender themselves," as

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Mrs. Hutchinson expresses it, "upon the faith of the parliamentary proclamation,"[c] and were weak enough to rely on the mercy or the honour of their enemies.[d] These were arraigned, jointly with Harrison and the others that were from the first marked out for vengeance, at the sessions which took place in October, and all of them received the sentence of treason. Thus the number of twenty-nine regicides, actually in custody, and thought fit to be tried for their lives, was made up for this memorable occasion.

Nothing can be more odious to a liberal mind, than the practice which unhappily takes place in some degree in all courts of justice, of measuring the words of the persons arraigned before them, and requiring them to speak in what is called, "the manner befitting their unhappy situation." The insolence of the judges, the delight they apparently feel in interrupting, in checking, in rebuking and trampling upon the prisoners brought before them, which we more or less perceive in the reading of all trials, certainly conduces to none of the ends of justice. They expect to be emphatically thanked for their generosity, if they practice any degree of decency towards the man whose cause they are appointed to

[c] Vol. II. p. 268.

[d] Some anticipation on this subject was naturally suggested by the assassination of Dorislaus at the Hague, and Ascham at Madrid, both of them perpetrated by the royalists, a short time after the death of Charles the First. Each of those persons was commissioned as the public minister of the English government to those of the United Provinces and of Spain. It was natural to say, if thus the royalists conduct themselves in adversity, and while living on sufferance in foreign countries, what streams of blood may they be expected to shed, if ever the reins of political power should be placed in their hands!

hear, and if they consent to put him to death with any sort of gentility. They look for a canting and hypocritical profession of offence and of sorrow, and hold out a lure, often a fallacious one, that such professions shall be considered in mitigation of punishment. They are more anxious to degrade and to dishonour, than to inflict the censure of the law. If a man fairly asserts his own conception of his case, and refuses to acknowledge offence, where, whatever may be the judgment of the ministers of the law, he finds none, this is treated as a heinous aggravation of his legal guilt; and many a one has paid the forfeit of his life, merely because he has spoken upon his trial that firm language, which is calculated to honour his memory to the latest posterity.

The very reverse of this ought to be the case. It is a maxim of equity in the most ordinary walks of life, that losers have a privilege to talk. It is a very small boon that is granted me, if when I am ready to abide all that you can inflict upon me, I be permitted quietly and without interruption to express my own sense of my own action. Nothing can be more iniquitous, than to take any thing I shall there say, into the consideration of what punishment I shall sustain. I am tried for a certain imputed offence; that offence is, or ought to be, contained precisely in my indictment; and you have no more right to punish me, for any thing I have done since the time to which the indictment refers, than for the assassination of Servius Tullius, king of Rome. What I require is, as one of our poets expresses it, that I may

> "have room
> To entertain my fate, and die with decency;"

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and what I would say is, If I am to die, allow me to act the last scene of my life with honour; and if I am to live, do not require me to purchase a few added years of infirm and declining life with the words or the gestures of a poltroon.

These laws of humanity, too generally made light of, have seldom been more grossly set at defiance, than in the present transaction. The fate of Scot, one of the persons executed in October, was determined, because it was proved that he had said in parliament, just before the Restoration, and when so many were deserting the cause in which they had first acquired their honours, that he desired no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb than this, "Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudged the king to death." Scroop, one of the persons who had surrendered on the faith of the proclamation, and in whose case every one appeared to sympathise, was put to death, because in a conversation that was obtruded upon him after his surrender, he declined giving any opinion upon the condemnation of the king, but rather expressed himself as if he were not convinced of any guilt belonging to that action.

Of the twenty-nine regicides tried at the sessions of October, nineteen were persons who had surrendered themselves on the faith of the proclamation of June the sixth. The fate of Scroop has just been mentioned. The remainder, as Mrs. Hutchinson justly observes,[e] were "in this a thousand times more miserable than those who died by the hands of the executioner, who were thereby prevented from the eternall infamie and remorse, which hope of life and estate made these

[e] Vol. II. p. 269.

poore men bring upon themselves, by base and false recantations of their owne iudgment against their consciences; which they wounded for no advantage, but lived ever after in misery themselves, augmented by seeing the misery of their wretched famelies, and in the daily apprehension of death, which without any more formallity they are to expect, whenever" the government may think fit to call on the parliament to concur for that end.

As to their estates however, their liberty, or any thing worth living for, these unfortunate persons were greatly deceived. Their estates were uniformly confiscated. One of them only ever obtained his liberty.[e] The rest were "kept in close prison, under an inhumane iaylor,"[f] denied all intercourse with their families, and scarcely able to subsist, but for the assistance of "some almes that were privately stollen in to them."[g] Several died under this treatment in the following year. Eight of the number, being thus consigned to a living grave, perished without any record remaining of how long they languished, or how quickly they arrived at the only haven of repose that remained for them. Several were "sent away to remote and dismall islands, where reliefe could not reach them, nor any of their relations take care of them."[g]

In this catalogue Henry Martin is particularly to be distinguished. He made no unworthy concessions. In his petition to parliament for mercy, he only said, that he "had never obeyed any proclamation before, and hoped he should not be hanged for taking the king's word now." He was a firm re-

[e] Colonel George Fleetwood. [f] Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 268. [g] Ibid., p. 269.

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publican, and was proved upon his trial to have been one of the foremost movers for the abolition of monarchy, and the trial of the king. His elegance of manners however, his wit, and the fascinating gaiety of his conversation had made him so many friends, that there was found a majority in parliament to vote that the sentence which had passed upon him should not be executed. He was twenty years retained a prisoner at Chepstow Castle in Monmouthshire, where he died in 1681, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

One of the last proceedings of this parliament, which was dissolved on the twenty-ninth of December, was an act of attainder, in which Cromwel, Bradshaw, Ireton, and Pride, were adjudged to be convicted and attainted of high treason, to all intents and purposes, as if they had each of them respectively been attainted in their life-times. This act was also made to extend to nineteen other regicides, resident in foreign countries, who were declared to have fled from justice.

One sort of remark ought to be made, which applies to all proceedings similar in nature to that here described. A capricious rule is taken, as to who shall be chosen for victims of vengeance; and those who do not fall under this rule, are pointed out and talked of as illustrious examples of clemency. In all reason, the house of commons (not at that time a very numerous body), who passed the act for trying the king, were more guilty, than those persons, who being named in the act as the king's judges, merely obeyed in the discharge of that office the sole visible supreme authority at that time existing in England. But that proceeding was at this time held most enormous, which touched most nearly upon the sacred person

of the king; and upon this principle the counsel that was ordered to plead, the military officer who kept the court, the other military officer who commanded at the execution, and Hugh Peters, who was proved to have rode before the king when he was brought to London for trial, were led to the gallows. Dendy, who attended the court as serjeant-at-arms, and Broughton, who officiated as clerk, were attainted among those who fled. Phelps, the junior clerk, was one of the six persons, who were declared liable to penalties and forfeitures not extending to life; and the executioner (who had received sentence) was only pardoned, in consideration of the gross deficiency of evidence upon which the jury had convicted him. CHAP. IV. 1660.

On the thirtieth of January another kind of extraordinary spectacle was exhibited. The bodies of Cromwel, Bradshaw, Ireton, and Pride were dug from their graves, conveyed to Tyburn, and there hanged upon a gallows. A revenge, that in one point of view only serves to show the impotent malignity of those who directed the scene. In another point of view however it is a disgrace to human nature itself. Those in the mean time who were anxious that the sentence pronounced on Harrison should be executed in its most literal form, and that his "entrails should be taken out of his body, and, he living, should be burned before his eyes," might, with the most perfect consistency, give order upon the bodies of those enemies, at the very sound of whose mighty names they had a little before trembled, that the last infirmity of our mortal nature, the corruption through which it is doomed to pass to its kindred earth, should be publicly exhibited, to 1661.

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the indignation and horror of every mind in which one spark of human feeling still continued to exist.

1661. This detestable execution was performed in virtue of the act of attainder passed against these four offenders. But the government was not contented to stop at this point. It was held necessary that Westminster Abbey should be purged of the relics of all who had been connected with the usurpation. Accordingly, the body of Blake, whose character for integrity, and a truly patriotic spirit, is unquestionably one of the most unstained in our annals; of Pym, the great fellow-labourer of the immortal Hambden, and who, like Hambden, died at an early period in the civil war; of the mother of Cromwel, who had always shown herself adverse to his elevation; of the amiable lady Claypole, his daughter; of May, the historiographer of the parliament; of Twiss, the prolocutor of the assembly of divines; and above ten more; were dug out of their graves, and huddled together into one common pit.

1662. In the spring of 1662 three of the fugitive regicides, Barkstead, Okey, and Corbet, were seized in Holland by sir George Downing, the English resident to the States General. This man had formerly served the Protector and the Commonwealth in the same station, and had even once been chaplain to Okey's regiment. He applied to the Dutch government for a warrant to arrest them. It had been usual for the States to grant such warrants; but they had always been careful secretly to advertise the persons against whom they were given, that they might have time to escape. But this precaution was eluded by the vigilance and dispatch of Downing. It is to be hoped for the honour of human nature, that his orders were extremely pre-

cise and emphatical, the better to enable us to account for so infamous a diligence. The persons of these three men were identified at the bar of the king's bench on the sixteenth of April; and without further ceremony they were executed on the nineteenth, in the same manner that had been practised on their fellows in the year of the Restoration.

The next measure of this nature adopted by the government, is an instance of perfidy for which it is most difficult to account. This was the trial of general Lambert and sir Henry Vane. In the Restoration-Parliament a difference had arisen between the two houses respecting these men. The house of commons was resolved that no persons should be given up to capital punishment, whose hands had not been actually dipped in the blood of the king. Both Lambert and Vane were beyond exception in this point. The difference was at length compromised, by their names being inserted among the exceptions in the act of indemnity, and the two houses of parliament joining in a petition for their lives; to which the king signified his consent.

The trials took place in June 1662. They had both been in prison ever since the Restoration, and they were now brought up from the island of Scilly for trial. There is no printed account of the trial of Lambert, and of that of Vane we have no other than one chiefly prepared by himself; the government of Charles the Second was little careful about the vindication of its proceedings. Sir Henry Vane had had no part in the death of the king; he had even absented himself from parliament for more than two months, while that measure was in agitation. The indictment therefore was laid for things done

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by him in 1659, tending to "keep out" the present sovereign.

The defence made by the prisoner was of the most masterly kind. He stated that, without any seeking of his, he was chosen into the parliament of November 1640; and having taken his seat, was obliged by law to give his attendance upon this trust, as well as upon grounds of duty and conscience. An act was passed in this parliament by the three estates, that this assembly should neither be adjourned, prorogued, nor dissolved, but by their own consent, to be declared by an act of parliament, to be passed by themselves for that purpose, with the royal assent. Admitting then, that by law allegiance was due to the king, yet it was always to be presumed, that it is to the king, in conjunction with the parliament, the law, and the kingdom, and not in disjunction from, or opposition to them. This is therefore that, which makes the matter in question a new case, that never happened before in this kingdom, nor was possible to happen, unless there had been a parliament constituted as this was. By this act there was a political power created, coordinate with the king; and, where such a power is granted, and the coordinates thereupon disagree and fall out, it will be impossible for the subjects to know their duty, while that power and command, which ought to flow from three in conjunction, comes to be exercised by all or any of them, singly and apart, or by two of them against one. For himself, in the whole series of his actions that which he had had in his eye, was to preserve the ancient, well-constituted government; and he had held it the most likely means for the effecting this, to preserve it, at least in

its root, which, as our eldest lawyers (Fortescue in particular) declare, is the common assent of the realm, the will of the people, or whole body of the kingdom, represented in parliament. Many and formidable changes had taken place of late years, by the vote of non-addresses to Charles the First, by the trial of the king, by the usurpation of Cromwel (in none of which he had taken any part), and latterly, by the returning again of the members of parliament to the exercise of their primitive and original trust, by whom the government was preserved, and at last restored to its former course. From precedents of former times it sufficiently appeared, that when there have arisen disputes about titles to the crown, between kings *de facto* and kings *de jure*, the people of this realm have never wanted directions for their safety, and how to behave themselves within the duty and limits of allegiance to the king and kingdom in such difficult and dangerous seasons. Had it been otherwise, it were the hardest case that could be: for then the people would be certainly exposed to punishment,—from those that are in possession of the supreme power, as traitors, if they did any thing against them, or did not obey them,—and from him that had the right, and is king *de jure*, if they rendered obedience to the king *de facto*. The crown-lawyers indeed denied that the present king was ever out of possession: to which sir Henry Vane replied, the words of his indictment ran, "that he had endeavoured to keep out his majesty;" and how could he keep him out of the realm, if he were not out? He denied however that he could be shown to have done any thing against his majesty, in the period to which the indictment referred. He had at all times refused

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to take the oath of abjuration of the house of Stuart, and since the seventh of January 1660 he had been constantly a prisoner.

Nothing could be more complete and triumphant than this argument, or show more irresistibly that sir Henry Vane was not guilty of high treason. The court however affirmed, and the jury pronounced, otherwise. Sir Henry fought his battle at every point with the spirit of a man, and the calmness of a philosopher; but he was overcome by power.

Lambert was tried by the same judges. Vane, says the contemporary historian, "put the court to a deal of needless trouble; but Lambert behaved very civilly and respectively to his judges, and submitted. Both were sentenced as traitors; but Lambert was reprieved at the bar by the king's favour, which mercy was once thought to be extended to sir Henry, if his frowardness had not precluded the way to it."[h] Lambert was sent to the island of Guernsey, where he continued a prisoner nearly thirty years.

The death of sir Henry Vane is one of the noblest examples of unaffected self-possession upon the records of history. To one of his friends he remarked, that "God had led him through three stages, his arraignment, his trial, and his sentence, and was now leading him to the fourth, his execution, which was far easier and pleasanter to him than any of the other three." To another, who persuaded him to make some submission to the king, and endeavour the obtaining his life, he said, "If the king does not think himself more concerned for his ho-

[h] Heath's Chronicle, *ad annum*.

nour and word, than I am for my life, I am willing they should take it."[1] CHAP. IV. 1662.

He thanked "God, who had given him courage to meet his death without fear. As for that glorious cause," said he, "in which so many righteous souls have lost their lives, and so many have been engaged by my countenance and encouragement, shall I now give it up, and so declare them all rebels and murderers? No, I will never do it: that precious blood shall never lie at my door. I would suffer ten thousand deaths, rather than defile my conscience, the chastity and purity of which I value beyond all the world. I would not for ten thousand lives, part with the peace and satisfaction which I have in my own heart, and the assurance I feel, although I see it not, that this cause will speedily prevail."[1]

Sir Henry Vane was beheaded on Tower Hill three days after his sentence. June 14. So fearful were the government, lest his courageous endurance should make an impression on the bystanders, that they placed trumpeters on the scaffold, who when he spoke of the injustice of his judges, "were ordered to sound or murre in his face, with a contemptible noise, to hinder his being heard."[1] The lieutenant of the Tower then endeavoured to snatch the notes from his hand, which sir Henry prevented by tearing them to pieces. "In the midst of all this disorder, this was exceedingly remarkable, the noble and great presence the prisoner appeared with. How chearful he is! said some. He does not look like a dying man, said others."[1]

[1] Trial of Sir Henry Vane, 1662. Afterward reprinted in the State Trials.

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It is astonishing that Milton was not made one of the victims in this sanguinary scene, and that the ministers of Charles the Second did not consummate their treachery, in the extinction of the future author of Paradise Lost. One would have imagined that the man who vindicated the destruction of Charles the First, with such reasonings, and in such a style, as to have excited the astonishment and admiration of Europe, would have been held incomparably more guilty by the friends of the Stuart family, than the counsellor who was appointed to plead against him, the officer who kept the court, or the clerk who took minutes of the proceedings.

1660. Charles the Second's Declaration from Breda called on the people of England to "rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given," for two things, a free and general pardon to all, except a small number to be named, and liberty of conscience to persons of different opinions in matters of religion. We have seen how he observed one of these promises; and it is but just that we should give some attention to his manner of performing the other.

The set of men, whose exertions were most effectual to bring about the Restoration, were the presbyterians. The royalists, the express and constant adherents of the king, were too much decried, and their general manners were too little calculated to give them weight and authority with so serious a people as the English nation then was, to enable them very actively to contribute to the great object of their desires. Accordingly, the parliament of 1660 were a great majority of them presbyterians.

These men having done their work, and lent their aid to

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1660. Oct. 25.

the king in taking vengeance upon the most considerable of their opponents, he was eager to dissolve the assembly. Previously however to that event, he published a "Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Matters," which seemed to be considerably in accord with the Declaration of Breda. In this manifesto, he promised to provide suffragan bishops for the larger dioceses, that the prelates should, all of them, be regular and constant preachers, that they should not confer ordination, or exercise jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance of presbyters to be chosen by the diocese, that such alterations should be made in the liturgy as to render it totally unexceptionable, and that the surplice, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, ceremonies excepted to by the presbyterians, should not be rigidly insisted on.

Here however the reign of the presbyterians was at an end. The manners of the great body of the people was changed. In the royal Declaration, mild as it was, the presbyterians were plainly the party dictated to; and their leaders showed themselves ready to give up the great points for which they had formerly plunged the nation in blood, provided a decent and plausible retreat were provided for them. With such a party it is not in the nature of the human mind, greatly to sympathise. On the other hand, the gaiety and licentiousness of the royal party, which had at first stood in the way of their success, their unmeasured triumph, the splendour of a court, and the mysterious delight which the mind of uninstructed man takes in the very name of a king, now that the tide was turned, threw all power, by a sort of violent reaction, into the hands of the royal and episcopal party. Seldom has an op-

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portunity of retaliation and revenge been so unmercifully used.

1661. In the new parliament chosen in 1661, the presbyterian members were reduced to a very small number; and indeed the whole complexion of the representation was so agreeable to the court, that this assembly was carried on by repeated

1662. May 19. prorogations for seventeen years. One of its earliest measures was the act of uniformity. This law was purposely constructed in such a manner, as to take away all shadow of consistency from the presbyterian clergy in continuing to hold

Aug. 24. their preferments; and accordingly about two thousand persons, employed in instructing the people of England in their moral and religious duties, were in one day ejected from their situations. So many persons, carefully bred to a profession, in which considerable learning and great purity of manners were held requisite, were without pity deprived of their only regular means of subsistence.

But the government was far from stopping here. Religious toleration was a novelty introduced into England under Cromwel and the republicans, and the present administration of affairs was resolved not to copy the example. If these victims of the resentments of the royalists had been allowed quietly to form assemblies of persons of their own persuasion, and to preach to their followers, their situation might have been rendered endurable. But this was by no means to be admitted. Wherever any of the ejected clergy were detected in the offence of preaching or praying, they were thrown into jail without mercy. A whole generation of informers sprang up, whose occupation it was to discover such offenders. Still a clandes-

tine worship was carried on, and still the ministers subsisted. To counteract this, an act was passed in 1664, commonly called the Conventicle Act, extending the penalty, which was before confined to the clergy, to their lay hearers. By this act all persons are required to attend the established church, with a penalty upon positive refusal, of banishment, and upon the return of the offender, of death. Also every person, present at any meeting for purposes of religion, not according to the forms of the church of England, is punished in the first instance with three months' imprisonment, or a fine of five pounds; in the second with six months' imprisonment, or ten pounds; for the third offence, seven years' transportation, or one hundred pounds; and upon the return of the offender death. In the following year another act of parliament was passed, commonly called the Five Mile Act. By this act every non-conformist minister is prohibited from coming within five miles of any city or town corporate, or of any parish of which he had formerly been clergyman.

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1664.

1665.

The author of the Declaration of Breda, and of these repeated violations of the faith of that declaration towards the regicides, and towards all persons dissenting from the church of England and the liturgy, was the earl of Clarendon. By a singular destiny all the folly, the impolicy, and the guilt of his administration has been swallowed up in his character as an historian; and in consideration of his having enriched the world with an admirable narrative of the adversities of Charles the First, posterity have been inclined to forgive him all the enormities he perpetrated as first minister of Charles the Second. It has been computed that sixty thousand persons

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suffered on a religious account under these persecutions, and that of this number five thousand perished in prison.[k]

The history of the government of Scotland under Charles the Second has been faithfully delineated by Hume; and therefore it is unnecessary to enter into the details in this place.

The manners of the adherents of Charles the Second have already been anticipated. Clarendon, with all his ill faith and intolerance, was grave, decent and formal; and by this very circumstance was soon ruined in a court, where otherwise his insincerity and treachery would have been sufficiently welcome. The character of the rest of the king's friends may be sufficiently exemplified in Buckingham and Rochester: never was there an age or country of modern Europe, where decorum and modesty were so openly violated, and where profligacy seemed to be so indispensible a passport to favour.

[k] Collections of Jeremiah White: *apud* Neal, History of the Puritans.

CHAPTER V.

WRITINGS OF MILTON DURING THIS PERIOD.—*TREATISE OF CIVIL POWER IN ECCLESIASTICAL CASES.—MEANS TO REMOVE HIRELINGS OUT OF THE CHURCH.—READY AND EASY WAY TO ESTABLISH A FREE COMMONWEALTH.*—QUOTATION FROM *SAMSON AGONISTES.*

CHAP. V.

It was necessary to enter into this review of the state of things subsequently to the death of Cromwel, and of the events that preceded and followed upon the Restoration, if we would duly appreciate the conduct of Milton and of his nephews at this crisis.

We have seen that during the life of Cromwel, from the publication of the *Defensio Secunda*, to the death of the usurper, Milton abstained from all personal interference in public questions. He kept himself as much as possible in his own house, and had very few familiarities with the persons in power. He strongly disapproved of the internal policy of the Protector, whom he has spoken of as the Sylla of his country. He shrank at the same time from the idea of active opposition, conceiving as he did that England was placed midway between two formidable evils, the temporary usurpation of an ambitious, bad man, and the calamity, much more to be dreaded, of the renewed reign of the Stuarts.

Cromwel being dead, Milton felt that he had once more 1659.
the liberty, and conceived that he had fallen on no unpromis-

CHAP. V. 1659.

ing opportunity, of offering to the consideration of his fellow citizens, the fruits of his meditations on public affairs. He therefore prepared against the sitting of the parliament, summoned by Richard Cromwel to meet on the twenty-seventh of January 1659, a "Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes; showing, that it is not Lawful for any Power on Earth to Compel in Matters of Religion." In the Preface to this work, he says, "Of civil liberty I have written heretofore, by the appointment, and not without the approbation of civil power: of Christian liberty I write now, which others long since having done with all freedom under Heathen emperors, I should do wrong to suspect, that I now shall with less under Christian governors, and such especially as profess openly their defence of Christian liberty; although I write this, not otherwise appointed or induced, than by inward persuasion of the Christian duty, which I may usefully discharge herein to the common Lord and Master of us all, and the certain hope of his approbation, first and chiefest to be sought." The reasonings of this treatise of Milton are remarkably apposite to the awful scenes of persecution and treachery soon after perpetrated under the auspices of Charles the Second and of Clarendon.

The reign of the Protector Richard however was a very brittle structure, and in the May following he and his parliament were swept away, to make room for the restoration of that parliament which had been so illegally and arbitrarily dispersed by Cromwel in 1653. This event was a source of great exultation to Milton, and accordingly gave him new encouragement to proceed in his labours for the public good.

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He therefore published what he deemed to be the second part of a just plan for the religious constitution of his country, under the title of "Considerations touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings out of the Church: wherein is also discoursed of Tithes, Church-Fees, and Church-Revenues; and whether any Maintenance of Ministers can be Settled by Law."

This production of Milton is addressed to the Long Parliament, whom he thus bespeaks: "Owing [as I do] to your protection, supreme senate, this liberty of writing, which I have used these eighteen years on all occasions, to assert the just rights and freedoms both of church and state, and [which has been by you] so far approved, as [for me] to have been trusted [by you] with the representment and defence of your actions to all Christendom against an adversary of no mean repute; to whom should I address what I still publish on the same argument, but to you, whose magnanimous counsels first opened and unbound the age from a double bondage under prelatical and regal tyranny; above our own hopes heartening us to look up at last like men and Christians from the slavish dejection, wherein from father to son we were bred up and taught; and thereby deserving of these nations, if they be not barbarously ingrateful, to be acknowledged, next under God, the authors and best patrons of religious and civil liberty that ever these islands brought forth? The care and tuition of whose peace and safety, after a short, but scandalous night of interruption, is now again, by a new dawning of God's miraculous Providence among us, revolved upon your shoulders."

We may easily suppose then with what grief of heart Milton

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contemplated the dispersion of the Long Parliament a second time, by the lawless ambition of Lambert in the autumn of the same year. In a letter to a friend, dated one week after this deplorable scene,[a] he expresses an enlightened and watchful apprehension of the mischiefs which so speedily followed. He saw with a clear and full understanding, what was to succeed upon the restoration of the king. He was appalled in observing "so great a part of the nation desperately conspired to call back again their Egyptian bondage." For himself, he ingenuously confesses, "Whether the civil government be an annual democracy, or a perpetual aristocracy, is not to me a consideration, for the extremities wherein we are, and the hazard of our safety from our common enemy, gaping at present to devour us. That it be not an oligarchy, or the faction of a few, may be easily prevented by placing the supreme authority in the hands of a sufficient number, who may be found infallibly constant to those two conditions, full liberty of conscience, and the abjuration of monarchy, or a single person."

It was in the December of this year that Milton wrote the letter to Henry Oldenburgh, then residing in Holland, already mentioned, in which he says, "Far be it from me to think, as you seem to desire, of writing the history of our late convulsions; which are indeed more worthy to be forgotten, than to be commemorated: nor does my country now stand in need of a historian to record her intestine commotions, but

[a] This letter appears in Milton's Prose Works immediately after the pamphlets last mentioned.

of a statesman to bring them to an auspicious conclusion." It is not easy to conceive a picture of patriotic anxiety for the welfare of the race of men then existing, and of generations to come, more lively than is conveyed to us in these few words. CHAP. V. 1659.

The pretensions of the usurping Lambert were stifled in the birth, and the remnant of the Long Parliament reassembled. This however was not without a cause, or a cause unfavourable to liberty. Monk, the commander of the English army in Scotland, declared himself against Lambert, particularly condemning the violence exercised on the parliament. Lambert marched northward to suppress this opposition; and his weight being removed, the parliamentary party rose again. This assembly issued orders for the dispersion of Lambert's forces; and, pressed between two motives, awe of the parliament, and the fear of Monk, they quietly obeyed. The legislative assembly then voted their thanks to Monk, and would have been glad that he should have returned to his quarters in Scotland. But this was far from the general's intention: he advanced by easy, but incessant marches toward London, collecting every where as he passed addresses in favour of a free and a full parliament. On the third of February he reached London, and on the eleventh, after much tergiversation and obscurity, wrote plainly to his masters, requesting them, that "on the sixth day from that time, they would issue out writs for filling up their house, and that on the sixth of May, the day fore-appointed, they would dissolve their assembly, and give place to the sitting of a new parliament." 1660.

Milton embraced this occasion to make his last effort for February.

CHAP. V. 1660.

the salvation of his country, by the publication of a strenuous and earnest expostulation with its remaining friends, under the title of "The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth; and the Excellence thereof, Compared with the Inconveniencies and Dangers of Readmitting Kingship in this Nation."

This performance must have been written about the middle of February, as in it he refers to the issue of new writs for filling up the vacancies in parliament; but since, during the remainder of that month, "the writs for new elections were recalled, the members at first chosen were readmitted from exclusion," and a general election was every where proclaimed, Milton seized this opportunity to publish a new edition of his treatise, with great enlargements. He was willing to derive some encouragement from the words of Monk on the day that the secluded members were restored, the general hypocritically professing, that he and his brother officers had "no intentions or purposes to return to our old bondage; but since the Providence of God hath made us free at the cost of so much blood, we hope we shall never be found so unfaithful to God and his People, as to lose so glorious a cause; but we do resolve with the assistance of God, to persevere in the maintenance of our dear purchased liberties, both spiritual and civil." The noblest natures are always the most confiding; and it is not to the discredit of Milton, that he did not at once detect all the falsehood and villainy lurking under these specious words.

March.

February 21.

This treatise is perhaps the most fervent of all the prose works of its author. He shows himself fully aware that the

desire of a great majority of the nation was to call back the king; and he says, "If their absolute determination be to enthral us, before so long a Lent of servitude, they may permit us a little Shroving-time first, wherein to speak freely, and take our leaves of liberty." 1660.

Milton was particularly affected with the recollection of what had been done for the nation, in contrast with what seemed likely to be the sequel. "After our liberty and religion," says he, "thus prosperously fought for, gained, and many years possessed, except in those unhappy interruptions, which God hath removed; now that nothing remains, but in all reason the certain hopes of a speedy and immediate settlement for ever in a firm and free commonwealth, for this extolled and magnified nation, regardless both of honours won, and deliverances vouchsafed from Heaven, to fall back, or rather to creep back so poorly, as it seems the multitude would, to their once abjured and detested thraldom of kingship, to be ourselves the slanderers of our own just and religious deeds, and by thus relapsing to verify all the bitter predictions of our triumphing enemies, not only argues a strange, degenerate contagion suddenly spread among us, fitted and prepared for new slavery, but will render us a scorn and derision to all our neighbours. And what will they at best say of us, and of the whole English name, but scoffingly, as of that foolish builder mentioned by our Saviour, who began to build a tower, and was not able to finish it? Where is this goodly tower of a commonwealth, which the English boasted they would build to overshadow kings, and be another Rome in the west?"

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He goes on to describe, almost in a prophetic spirit, what would be the results consequent on a restoration. "A king," says he, "must be adored like a demigod, with a dissolute and haughty court about him, of vast expense and luxury, masks and revels, to the debauching our prime gentry, both male and female. There will be a queen of no less charge, in most likelihood outlandish and a papist; besides a queen-mother such already; with their royal issue and numerous train.

"Nor," he proceeds, "let the new royalised presbyterians persuad themselves, that their old doings, though now recanted, will be forgotten. Let them but now read the diabolical, forerunning libels, the faces, the gestures, that now appear foremost and briskest in all public places, as the harbingers of those, that are in expectation to reign over us; let them but hear the insolencies, the menaces, the insultings of our newly animated common enemies, by the language of their infernal pamphlets, the spawn of every drunkard, every ribald. And do they among them, who are so forward to bring in the single person, think to be by him trusted or long regarded? So trusted they shall be, and so regarded, as by kings are wont reconciled enemies; neglected soon after and discarded, if not prosecuted for old traitors; the first inciters, beginners, and more than to the third part actors of all that followed."

The following passage is peculiarly animated. "'The kings of the Gentiles,' saith Christ, 'exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors; but ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest

among you, let him be as the younger, and he that is chief as he that serveth.' That he speaks of civil government, is manifest by the former part of the comparison, which infers the other part to be always in the same kind. And what government comes nearer to this precept of Christ, than a free commonwealth; wherein they who are the greatest, are perpetual servants and drudges to the public at their own cost and charges, neglect their own affairs, yet are not elevated above their brethren; live soberly in their families, walk the street as other men, may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without adoration? Considering these things so plain, so rational, I cannot but admire how any man, who hath the true principles of justice and religion in him, can presume, or take upon him, to be a king and lord over his brethren, whom he cannot but know, whether as men or Christians, to be for the most part every way equal or superior to himself; how he can display with such vanity and ostentation his regal splendour, so supereminently above other mortal men; or, being a Christian, can assume such extraordinary honour and worship to himself, while the kingdom of Christ, our common king and lord, is hid to the world, and such Gentilish imitation forbid in express words by himself to all his disciples." CHAP. V. 1660.

Toward the conclusion of his treatise, Milton thus gives vent to his feelings. "Thus much I should perhaps have said, though I were sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones; and had none to cry to, but with the prophet, 'O earth, earth, earth!' to tell the very soil itself, what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to: nay, though what I have spoken should happen [which thou suffer not, who didst

CHAP. V. 1660.

create mankind free! nor thou next, who didst redeem us from being servants of men!] to be the last words of our expiring liberty."

Such were the solemn and awful warnings, which Milton addressed to his countrymen on this terrible occasion. Let us see in what manner this sublime genius spoke of this event afterward; when alluding to it in his subsequent writings. The Samson Agonistes was a subject no doubt purposely chosen by him to give vent to the anguish of his heart; a blind servant of God, held captive among the enemies of all true religion, seemed to him an apt type of his own situation. In the following passage in one of the choruses to that tragedy, he plainly has in view the events he was compelled to witness, and the treatment exercised upon his illustrious and beloved friends, Bradshaw and Vane.

" God of our Fathers, what is man!
That thou towards him with hand so various,
Or might I say contrarious,
Temperest thy Providence through his short course,
Not evenly, as thou rulest
The Angelic orders, and inferior creatures mute,
Irrational and brute.
Nor do I name of men the common rout,
That wandering loose about,
Grow up and perish as the summer fly,
Heads without name, no more remembered;
But such as thou hast solemnly elected,
With gifts and graces eminently adorned,
To some great work, thy glory
And people's safety, which in part they effect:
Yet toward these, thus dignified, thou oft,
Amidst their height of noon,

Changest thy countenance and thy hand, with no regard
Of highest favours past
From thee on them, or them to thee of service.
" Nor only dost degrade them, or remit
To life obscured, which were a fair dismission,
But throwest them lower, than thou didst exalt them high,
Unseemly falls in human eye,
Too grievous for the trespass or omission;
Oft leavest them to the hostile sword
Of Heathen and profane, their carcasses
To dogs and fowls a prey; or else captived;
Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times,
And condemnation of the ingrateful multitude."

The poet then turns round in retrospect of his own situation, and proceeds,

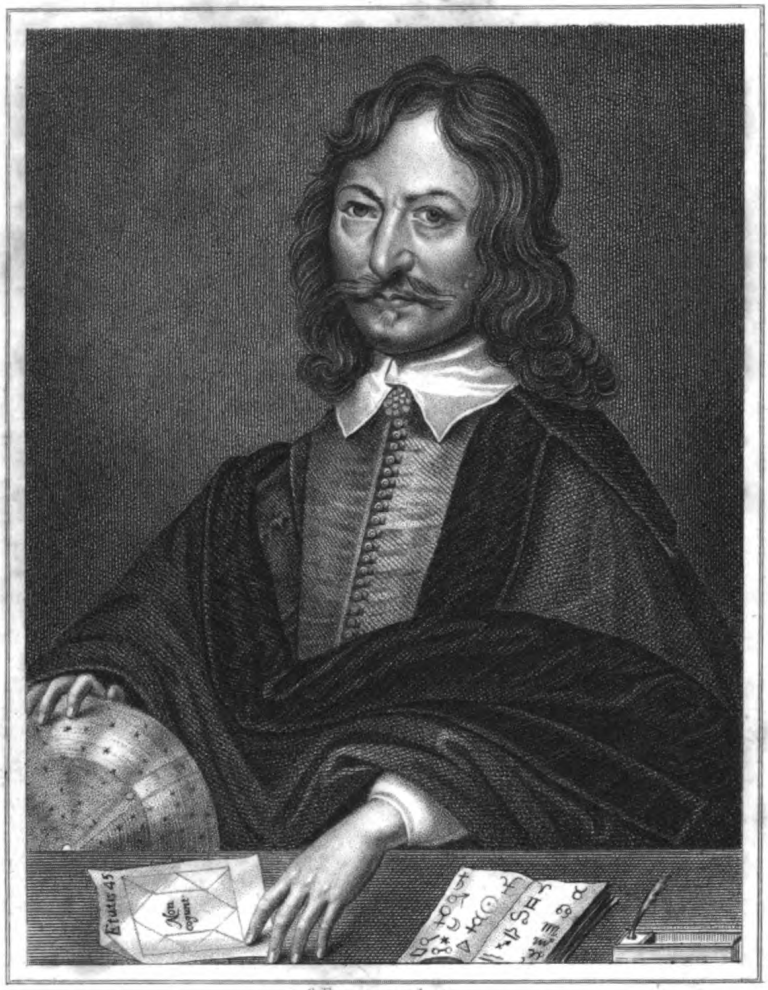
" If these they scape, perhaps in poverty,
With sickness and disease thou bowest them down,
Painful diseases and deformed,
In crude old age,
Though not disordinate, yet causeless suffering
The punishment of dissolute days."

CHAPTER VI.

POLITICAL WRITINGS OF THE NEPHEWS OF MILTON.—*ALMANACK OF MONTELION.*—ACCOUNT OF WILLIAM LILLY, THE ASTROLOGER.—*DON JUAN LAMBERTO.*—*INTRODUCTION TO ASTROLOGY.*—*CONTINUATION OF BAKER'S CHRONICLE*, BY EDWARD PHILIPS.—SITUATION OF MILTON.—ENGAGES IN WRITING THE *PARADISE LOST.*

CHAP. VI. 1659.

A MOST extraordinary contrast to the feelings and behaviour of Milton on this memorable occasion, is afforded us in the conduct of his nephews. John Philips, who had already disclosed his political predilections and his vein of writing in the Satyr against Hypocrites, conceived that this style of composition might be rendered particularly conducive to that event which he and all young men of loose and profligate habits looked forward to at this time with such eager anticipation, the Restoration of the Stuarts; and accordingly, in the close of 1659, he published a pamphlet, entitled "Montelion, 1660: Or, the Prophetical Almanack; being a true and exact Accompt of all the Revolutions that are to happen in the World, this Present Year, 1660, till this time Twelvemoneth. By Montelion, Knight of the Oracle, a Well-wisher to the Mathematicks." I cannot help thinking that Milton had this production among others in his thoughts, when he speaks with so bitter a feeling in his treatise of the Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth, published February 1660,



S. Freeman. sculpsit.

William Lilly,

the Astrologer.

Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown London, April, 1815

concerning "the insolencies, the menaces, the insultings of our newly animated common enemies," and refers to "the language of their infernal pamphlets, the spawn of every drunkard, every ribald."

We cannot precisely understand the whole object of John Philips's satire on this occasion, if we do not go back to the manners of the times, and call to our recollection many things which were then of great consideration and importance, though in the course of the following sixty or eighty years they were utterly forgotten. I have now lying before me a volume, in which the most popular Ephemerides for 1660, to the number of fourteen are bound together, written by William Lilly, George Wharton, John Gadbury, Joseph Blagrave, William Dade, George Rose, John Woodhouse, Vincent Prince, Vincent Wing, and others. These, though now swept away into long oblivion, were once the oracles of their times; ladies, who commanded all other hearts, trembled at their mummeries; and generals and statesmen, who lay claim to the gratitude of a distant posterity, dared not enter on the execution of their projects, till they had consulted their science, and obtained their sanction.

William Lilly was the most eminent of these worthies at the period of which we are treating. He had arrived by means of his various publications to such a degree of popularity in the year 1647, that a coach and four horses were sent at that time to fetch him and John Booker, his most eminent rival in art, to Windsor, to the head-quarters of general Fairfax, who enquired of them with great anxiety as to the future success of

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his arms.[a] Lilly, who took upon him to be the spokesman on this occasion, assured him with all fitting solemnity, that he might be "confident of God's going along with him and his army, until the great work for which he ordained them both was perfected, the conquering and subversion of his and the parliament's enemies, and then a quiet settlement and firm peace over all the nation, unto God's glory, and full satisfaction of tender consciences." The same worthies were in the following year conducted to the siege of Colchester, where by their assurances of the success of the undertaking, the soldiers were greatly encouraged to perseverance and valour. Lilly was at the same period, for no one knew better than he how to play an even game with opposite parties, consulted upon the choice of lucky hours and fortunate means for king Charles's escape from Hampton Court and Carisbrook Castle. A short time before the dispersion of the Long Parliament by Cromwel in 1653, he was called before their committee for some disrespectful things he had said of the Presbyterians in his Ephemeris for that year, and extricated himself with his usual knavery. In 1659 Lilly received a gold chain from the king of Sweden, in recompense of many fine things he had prophesied of that monarch, all of which were not long after attended with opposite events. In the following year he apologised for his error in having predicted a long and prosperous reign to the Protector Richard.

But the most memorable scene in the life of William Lilly,

[a] History of his Life and Times, by William Lilly.

was his being called on the twenty-second of October 1666, before the committee of the house of commons for examining into the causes of the fire of London, which he thus relates.

" In my Monarchy or No Monarchy, printed 1651, I had framed an hieroglyphick, which you may see in p. 7, wherein is the representation of a great sickness and mortality, people in their winding-sheets, persons digging graves and sepultures, coffins, &c. The next side after the coffins and pick-axes, there is a representation of a great city all in flames of fire.[b] The memorial whereof some parliament-men remembering, thought fit to send for me before that committee. I was timorous of committees, being ever by some of them calumniated, upbraided, scorned and derided: however I must and did appear.

" Sir Robert Brooke, the chairman of the committee, spoke to me to this purpose:

" ' Mr. Lilly, This committee thought fit to summon you to appear before them this day, to know if you can say any thing as to the cause of the late fire, or whether there might be any design therein. You are called the rather hither, because in a book of yours long since printed, you hinted some such thing by one of your hieroglyphicks.' Unto which I replied:

" ' May it please your Honours, After the beheading of the

[b] This is an astrologer's lie. The Monarchy or No Monarchy has for an Appendix sixteen pages of wood-cuts, " representing in Ænigmatical Types, Formes, Figures, Shapes, the future condition of the English Nation and Commonwealth *for many hundred of yeares to come;* of which, *had the curtesie of the times deserved it*, the reader had seen an explanation." The eighth page exhibits the graves and winding-sheets, and the thirteenth a city in flames. Lilly would have us believe, that the one was on the next side to the other, because the Plague was in 1665, and the Fire of London in 1666.

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late King, considering that in the three subsequent years the Parliament acted nothing which concerned the settlement of the nation in peace; and seeing the generality of people dissatisfied, the citizens of London discontented, the soldiery prone to mutiny, I was desirous, according to the best knowledge God had given me, to make enquiry by the art I studied, what might from that time happen unto the Parliament and nation in general. At last, having satisfied myself as well as I could, and perfected my judgment therein, I thought it most convenient to signify my intentions and conceptions thereof in Forms, Shapes, Types, Hieroglyphicks, &c, without any Commentary, that so my judgment might be concealed from the vulgar, and made manifest only unto the wise. I herein imitating the examples of many wise philosophers who had done the like.'

" ' Sir Robert,' saith one, ' Lilly is yet *sub vestibulo*.'

" I proceeded further. Said I, ' Having found, sir, that the city of London should be sadly afflicted with a great plague, and not long after with an exorbitant fire, I framed these two hieroglyphicks as represented in the book, which in effect have proved very true.'

" ' Did you foresee the year?' said one.

" ' I did not,' said I, ' or was desirous: of that I made no scrutiny.' I proceeded—

" ' Now, sir, whether there was any design of burning the city, or any employed to that purpose, I must deal ingenuously with you, [Suppose he had done otherwise?] that since the fire, I have taken much pains in the search thereof, but cannot or could not give myself any the least satisfaction therein.

I conclude that it was only the finger of God; but what instruments he used thereunto, I am ignorant.' CHAP. VI. 1659.

"The committee seemed well pleased with what I spoke, and dismissed me with great civility."

It is the folly of superficial thinkers to imagine that human beings in past ages believed nothing that we do not believe at present: and indeed it is wonderful to conceive that, so short a time ago, the inhabitants of this island, in many respects much wiser than we are, entertained so serious a faith in astrology, witchcraft, and other exploded absurdities, as we find they actually did. The case of witchcraft was attended with still more deplorable consequences, than the credit that was given to the foretellers of future events. In the years 1644, 1645 and 1646, eighty or an hundred persons were put to death by course of law, in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, upon a charge of confederacy with evil spirits; and an execrable villain, named Hopkins, the agent in this tragedy, who pretended to great skill in the detection of witches, was encouraged by the misapplied piety, and horror against diabolical arts, of several of the great parliamentary leaders. Even after the Restoration, in the year 1664, two poor women were tried at Bury St. Edmunds before sir Matthew Hale, on a charge of witchcraft, and being found guilty, were executed pursuant to their sentence. So far therefore as the labours of John Philips on this occasion were directed to the exposure of such deplorable impositions on the understanding of mankind, they are entitled to commendation.

The Almanac of Montelion for the year 1660 was attended 1660.

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with such success, as to encourage the author to continue his plan in a similar Almanac for the following year. The former of these productions I have never seen; and it certainly would be a curiosity, to perceive, how far the flaming zeal of a newly converted royalist would carry him, in his declarations against the government in being, and in favour of the revival of the monarchy. Lilly's Ephemeris for that year is dated November 8, 1659; and I do not find that in any of the Prophetic Almanacs bound up with it in the volume before me, the sage astrological author has ventured to foretel any thing of the Restoration of the Stuarts. The Rump Parliament was dispersed by Lambert on the thirteenth of October in that year, and on the third of November that general marched against Monk, who was the commander in chief in Scotland: he must have been a steady star-gazer, who in that posture of affairs on earth, could predict the political events of 1660; and if his prophecies foreboded ill to the powers then in being, he might have stood a chance of speedily paying the price of his temerity.

In his Montelion for 1661 John Philips found himself under no necessity for restraining the ebullitions of his loyalty. The first thing that occurs in this publication is what he calls the Atchievement of the Rumpers; the two supporters of which are Cromwel and Bradshaw, and a "monstrous demi-devil" above, who addresses a scroll to each, with the words, to Cromwel, "Kill, and take possession," and to Bradshaw, "Do my work, and receive my wages." The next article is an Exact Chronology of Memorable Things, after the manner

of an almanac, stating how many years it is since each event happened. Among other events are the following:

"Since H. M. [Henry Martin] built a Seraglio for the Rump . . . . . 14 *years.*

"Since the Rump presented H. M. with Aretine's postures in Turkey leather . . . . . 1 *year.*

"Since Old Noll's lady sold stepony [a cooling drink for hot weather] . . . . . 2 *years.*

"Since Hugh Peters wife caught him in bed with a Dutch woman . . . . . 5 *years.*

"Since Mr. Skinner spake discreetly at the Rota 1 *year.*"

Next follow four pages of Astrological Observations, and then the twelve months, having one page each for saints' days and holidays, and one page each for predictions appropriated to each month. The saints are for the most part the leaders of the republican party.

Under the head of February we have the following imitation of Lilly: "This month a king shall awake in great fury, like a man out of a slumber of wine, and he shall go out against the sons of Ishmael, and the people shall cry, *God speed him well:* upon which the eagle, whose name is inestimably written in five marks [e-a-g-l-e], shall destroy the minister of iniquitie, and bruise the bear. Thus have we given the bear fair warning from this time till next February; so that if it be in his power to avoid the danger, let him."

Under the head of November occurs this passage. "All manner of *plots, villainies, false informations, treasons, fights,*

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dissentions do now (saith our brother Lilly) act their parts on the stage of the world [This is a quotation from Lilly's Ephemeris of the preceding year]: and in this he speaks most truly, as for example: when a woman contrives how to cuckold her husband, theres the *plot*; when she commits the act, theres the *villainy*; when she kisses her husband, and tells him that she never lay in her life with any man but himself, theres the *false information*. When a young fellow carries a wench to the tavern, pretending to give her a glasse of wine, but at length pawns her for the reckning, theres the *treason*; when men quarrel in ordinaries, theres your *dissention*; when they throw quart-pots at one another's heads, then they *fight*. And thus you see our brother's policy in speaking generally."

After the due development of the twelve months, Montelion presents his readers with a catalogue of recipes for the cure of divers diseases. Among them occurs the following brutal passage, in the close of what he calls a Receipt to take the Maggots out of the Rump of a Parliament.—" send them to the Tower: after that hang them up twelve hours in the sun, and then bury them under the gallows. *Probatum est.*" The regicides were executed in October, almost at the very moment that we may conceive this passage was writing.

There is a humourous Catalogue of Books Newly Printed at the end of this publication, one or two of which may be selected as a specimen.

> " Geometrical Proportions between Jacob's Ladder, and the Stair-cases in Noah's Ark. Observed by A. S., Student in the Mathematicks.

" Harmonious Concords sympathetically agreeing in the Dirges of an Irish Kerns Funeral, and an English Cats Wedding: with Several Orations at Both Solemnities. By Sandy Twanger, Sexton of Banbury. 1660.

" A Romance of the Famous Knight Sir Rumpander, How he courted the Lady Chimera, who was kept in an Enchanted Castle, and he himself mounting a Woodden Engine to scale it, fell, and streightned a Principal Sinue.

" *Symposia Obstetricum*, in 27 Tomes: An excellent work, but not yet finished."

The name of Montelion, annexed to this production, has no affinity with the old romance of that name, and was doubtless chosen merely from the circumstance that the hero of the romance is surnamed the Knight of the Oracle.

Excited by the popularity of the Almanacs of Montelion, 1661.
John Philips further proceeded in the year 1661 to publish, first, a satyrical production, entitled " Don Juan Lamberto: or, A Comical History of the Late Times, By Montelion ;" and secondly, " Montelion's Introduction to Astrology, after a New, but more Easie Way, shewing the whole Method of that Learned Art."

The First Part of Don Juan Lamberto, with the above title, is to be found in the Library of the British Museum ; for a sight of the Second Part I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Bindley of the Stamp-Office. His copy, in which the two parts are printed together, is the third edition, and bears in the title-page the date of 1665. Added to the original title

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it has also this further specification of its contents: "Wherein the subtil contrivances, arch rogueries, and villainous treasons of the late notorious rebels, under several feigned names are jovially discovered, and to the very life displayed."

The impatient royalists were inexpressibly delighted with the perpetual fluctuations and changes of government, which distinguished the last twelve months preceding the Restoration, and by the instability of which they believed that the people of England being wearied and discontent, would gladly subject themselves to any form of political administration that promised permanence: while on the other hand, all such good men as were persuaded that the improvement and virtue of their country were essentially bound up with the continued proscription of the exiled family, felt proportionable dismay and anguish at these portentous events. They are the transactions of this period, that form the subject of the History of Don Juan Lamberto.

The author has taken the plan of the old romances of chivalry for the model of his tale. The royalists are the Christians, suffering under an intolerable yoke; and the republicans are the blasphemous paynims from whom all their calamities proceed. The story contains a reasonable quantity of giants and enchantments. Desborough, Hewson, Okey, and Creed are giants; and the independent clergy, with the celebrated Thomas Scot, alderman of London, the enchanters. Sir Lambert, knight of the Golden Tulip, and sir Vane, knight of the Mysterious Allegories, form a conspiracy, shortly after the death of Cromwel, soldan of Britain, to deprive his son, the Meek Knight, of the succession. Having effected this ob-

ject, they set up a government of Forty Tyrants, meaning the Rump Parliament, which in 1659 consisted of only forty-two members. Shortly after however, tired of this phantom of their own creation, they put an end to their government, and substitute several Seers of the Square Table, which should have the name of a Councel of Safety; at the same time solemnly abolishing the Christian religion, and setting up a polytheism of their own invention. "The Christians were now in a sad condition: they had only one champion still alive, who was hight Sir George [Monk], the Loyal Knight, the most worthy champion that ever the Brittaines had. Against him Sir Lambert marches, purposing to meet him in the plains of Northimbria." Sir Lambert however is deserted by his soldiers; the Loyal Knight proceeds to Londinum; and "summoning together the friends of the true and lawful king of Britain (a just and milde prince, whose right it was to rule over them, but the paynims having overthrown him in battel, forced him to quit his lawful inheritance, and flye out of his kingdom), the Loyal Knight placed in their hands the chief power. Which was no sooner restored to them, but they sent for their rightful sovereign, who not long after was received into his chief city with great joy and triumph."

But whatever ingenuity there may be in the contrivance of this work, it is certainly very scurrilous, and abundant in low buffoonery, in the execution. The author, like all the literary champions of Charles the Second, boggles neither at obscenity nor ordure, when he thinks them conducive to his purpose. There is however an essential inconsistency in this way of treating the regicides. They were either contemptible, and

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then worthy only to be laughed at; or they were truly formidable, and to be proceeded against accordingly. The revenge of Charles the Second and his ministers was not to be contented with either side of this alternative: with fierce animosity they sought the blood of their adversaries; at the same time that they added to this sanguinary proscription an endeavour to hold them up to the contempt and laughter of after ages. From the bench of justice they directed, that they should be "hanged by the neck, and being alive, should be cut down, and their entrails being taken out of their bodies, should be burned before their eyes [all which was punctually executed]:" and from the press they took care that their "arch rogueries and villainous treasons should be jovially discovered, and to the very life displayed."

The following extracts may serve as a specimen of the humour of Don Juan Lamberto. "Sir Lambert and sir Vane made a league together, they knowing right well, that as sir Lambert did far exceed in feats of armes, so sir Vane was much craftier in councell; so that in this point sir Vane would never give the other the superiority, though at knocks he always let him go before him."

As an exercise for the submission of sir Lambert, sir Vane undertakes to prove to him "that the moon is made of green cheese; for if it be not, quoth he, then will I be hang'd. But have you no other argument? replied Sir Lambert. Most surely, replied Sir Vane. First, because I have said it, whose wisdom, by which you have so long been govern'd, would receive no small affront, and yourself not a little disparage yourself, should you not believe me in this thing as well as in

others. Then proceeded Sir Vane, saying, Know yee then right well, Sir Lambert, that in metaphysicks the notional difference makes a clear distinction, as falling into an incapacitated sence of the objected medium. For mark yee what I shall say; Behold your virgins afflicted with the Green Sickness, they are said to look green, when they are in verity white; we call Geese Green, yet who is such a goose as doth not perceive them to be many times grey? meet is said to be Green Rosted when it is all over red with blood; and all the world that knows what Green Fish is, knows it to be white. And thus the moon, being either red, grey or white, may properly be said to be Green. Now that it is a Cheese, the allegorical configuration of the supernatural ideas doth make manifest: For you see how that a cheese in its spherical rotundity waines and waines, till it come to be all eaten, and then presently appears a new cheese; Even so you see it is with the moon, which when it is at its smallest decrease, that is, all eaten up by the Gods, then comes a new moon. Moreover, do you not see holes in a cheese? and did not the necromancer Galileo discry holes and concavities in the moon? When Sir Lambert heard this, he twisted his mustachios with his forefinger and thumb: But, quoth he, Sir Vane, for all this, you tell a strange story, certes I know not how to believe it. When Sir Vane heard that, he waxed wroth; and Sir Lambert, much appall'd thereat, incontinently alter'd his opinion, saying that if he would swear it, he would believe it. Then they both sware in most friendly manner; and Sir Vane, being mightily puft in his mind for so great a conquest, went to bed."

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The Two Parts of the History of Don Juan Lamberto consist of fifty or sixty pages each in quarto; and to assist their resemblance to the old romances, upon the model of which they are written, they are printed in the black letter.

The last of the productions of John Philips under the assumed name of Montelion, is his Introduction to Astrology. This is a burlesque upon a performance of Lilly with a similar title, which he has had the impudence to call Christian Astrology. Lilly's book is an immense quarto of 830 pages. It was first published in 1647, and was brought out under the especial patronage of Bulstrode Whitelocke, principal commissioner of the great seal. "So many, so numberless," says Lilly in his Dedication, "are my engagements unto you, that I had no other means remaining then this, whereby to express a gratefull heart, or to acquaint the present and future times, of your ardent and continuall promoting me and my poor labours, since first Divine Providence made me known unto you; for had not you persevered all along a firm and an assured Mæcenas unto me, my carkasse and conceptions had been buried in eternall silence."[c] The urine of Whitelocke was taken in 1643 to Lilly for his judgment; and from that time commenced a familiar and a frequent intercourse between them. "I presented him," says the astrologer in his Preface, "with a small manuscript of my Astrologicall Judgment of the year 1644 [the first in the series of Lilly's Ephemerides]: it pleased him to communicate it; copies were obtained and

[c] Lilly is several times named, and always with great respect, in Whitelocke's Memorials.

dispersed; so that by his alone commendation of that poor manuscript unto his private friends, this noble art had first respect amongst our worthies in the parliament." The Christian Astrology was reprinted in 1659.

It is impossible to communicate an idea of the contents of this extraordinary book, without extracts.

The heavens are divided by Lilly into twelve houses. Under the first house he has this remark. "If Saturn, Mars, or the Dragons Tayle be in this house, either *at the time of a question*, or of birth, the Querent or person born will have a mark, mole or scar in the face, or in the member appropriate to the signe that is then upon the cusp of the house. This I have found true in hundreds of examples."

Under the ninth house he observes: "If Jupiter be herein placed, it naturally signifies a devout man in his religion, or one modestly given. But when the Dragon's Tayle, or Mars, or Saturn have been infortunately placed in this house, I have oft observed the Querent hath either been little better then an atheist, or a desperate sectarist."

Lilly expresses himself thus respecting the planet Saturn. "He is a diurnal planet, cold and dry, of a middle stature, his complexion pale, swartish or muddy, a rare or thin beard, a lumpish, unpleasant countenance, his shoulders broad and large, his thighs spare, lean, and long, his knees and feet indecent, many times shoveling or hitting one against another."

The following are some of the questions which the Christian Astrology professes to teach the diligent student to answer. "If the Querent is like to live long, yea or not—What part of

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his life is like to be best—If one shall find the party at home one would speak with—Whether one absent be dead or alive—A woman demanded of me, whether her son were with his master or not—Whether the querent shall be rich—To find a thing hid or mislaid—Whether a woman be with child or no—If male or female—If one shall have children."

All this John Philips has ridiculed with inimitable playfulness and grace; and indeed his Introduction to Astrology is in a much happier vein than his other burlesque performances. He has in general an unconquerable propensity to coarseness; and while he smiles, we are nevertheless shocked with the hard features and saturnine severity that discover themselves in his countenance. But the Introduction to Astrology is very slightly tinctured with these defects.—It is thus that he parodies one of Lilly's astrological questions, with its answer.

"*A country woman demanded of me, if her son were with his master, or at her own house.*

"I told her I could not tell, and she went away as well satisfied as ever she was in her life; and I got my halfe crown, and I was as well satisfied as she."

The following is a pleasant piece of burlesque.

"*To know whether a man shall speak with the party he goes to enquire for.*

"When a man hath an occasion to speak with any person, whether it be about business, or only to ask him how he does; and comes to an Astrologer to know whether he shall speak with the party he goes to enquire for; Let the Artist erect his Scheame; Then let him bid the Querent go to the parties house, and if the door be shut, let him knock with the ham-

mer, but if there be none, his heel will do that office well enough; when the maid or man comes to the door, bid the Querent inquire if the party be within; if he be not, he will hardly have his desire that time, for that then the Significate is in a Cadent House, and the party he goes to speak with is at the Alehouse, or else at the Tavern: but if the party be within, and comes down to him, so that he both sees him and talkes with him, then shall he attain his wish; for that then the Lord of the Seventh House is in one of the Four Angels."[d]

While John Philips was thus earnestly engaged with all the wit and humour he was master of, in endeavouring to bring into contempt the great leaders of the republican party, his elder brother was retained in the more serious task, of commemorating as an historian the great event of the Restoration. The vehicle adopted for that purpose was a Continuation of

[d] Wood and Winstanley agree in attributing Montelion, the Prophetical Almanack for 1660, to John Philips. In the article of Thomas Flatman, the Pindaric poet, and imitator of Cowley, Wood however ascribes several of the productions under the name of Montelion, to that author. "In the next year [1661]," says he, "was published a piece in prose, entit. Don Juan Lamberto: or, A Comical History of the Late Times, with a wooden cut before it, containing the pictures of giant Desborough, with a great club [a cannon] in his right hand, and of Lambert, both leading, under the arms, the Meek Knight, i. e. Richard Cromwell [turning him out of doors]; which book vending very fast, a second part was added by the same hand, with the giant Husonio before it, and printed with the second impression of the first, London, 1661, quarto. To both which parts (very witty and satirical), tho' the disguis'd name of Montelion, Knight of the Oracle, &c, is set to them, yet the acquaintance and contemporaries of Th. Flatman always confidently aver'd that he, the said Flatman, was the author of them. Montelion's Almanack came out in 1660, 61, 62. The first wrote by Joh. Philips, as he confesses in his Merc. Verax: or, The Prisoner's Prognostication for the year 1675. [The title of this pamphlet at full length, as I find it in Clavel's Catalogue for Michaelmas Term 1674, is, "Mercurius Verax, or the Prisoners Prognostications for

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Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle of the Kings of England, a book to this day rendered familiar to every reader, by the circumstance of Addison's having taken it, for the standard work always referred to by sir Roger de Coverley in any question relating to the history of our country. Of this book nearly a moiety, in all the editions printed since the Restoration, is the production of Edward Philips. No wonder therefore that Winstanley, the tory barber in the reign of James the Second, should, in his Lives of the Poets, style Edward Philips, "the judicious Continuator of sir Richard Bakers Chronicle, which will make his name famous to Posterity."

1659. Edward Philips however had been employed as the editor of Baker, previously to the Restoration of Charles the Second. This book, so continually referred to by our ancestors for more than seventy years, was carried down by its original author no lower than to the death of James the First. It was first

the Year 1675: wherein are prophesied several truths of very great moment yet to come to pass; which he that contradicts, let him have a care he does not find them true by experience. By the Author of the first Montelion, and Satyr against Hypocrites. Octavo; price 4*d*."] The two other Montelions for 1661, 62, are supposed to have been writ by Tho. Flatman, Esq." Respecting the Introduction to Astrology Wood says nothing.

Flatman is certainly a writer of an agreeable mediocrity of talents. When he undertakes to imitate the Pindarics of Cowley, he exhibits some shadow of the mild, persuasive, and benevolent spirit of that admirable author; and when he inclines to a style of banter and buffoonery, his manner becomes sufficiently on a par with the animation and roughness of John Philips. Such a man was no doubt a pleasant companion; but his bark was too poorly timbered, to live on the ocean of literary fame.

Meanwhile, it is hoped the reader will not be displeased, at having thus presented to him a curious illustration of the literature and superstitions of the age, though it should not be applicable in all its points to either of the persons whose history forms the subject of this volume.

printed in 1641; the writer in his peroration professing an expectation "to resume his style, when the storm, which he saw overcast the days of the successor, and which he hoped would be but a short fit, was past, and fair weather returned;" but he died in 1645; and the second edition, published in 1653, is merely a reprint of the first. In the course of the next five or six years a third edition was called for; and Edward Philips was now engaged by the booksellers to carry on the work, from the period at which sir Richard Baker had quitted it.

The third edition, the first in which Edward Philips was concerned, was printed in a very critical period, bearing the date of 1660, and having for the most part probably passed the press before the commencement of that year. It was therefore impossible that the continuator should unreservedly take part with the exiled family. This, if it would have been safe for the writer, would at least not have answered the purpose of the bookseller, who we may be sure would not have been content to reduce so valuable a property as Baker's Chronicle then was, into a book that was to be under proscription with all but a few mutinous and malcontent royalists. People were very far from anticipating, at the time the book was put to the press, or even at the period of its publication, that the Restoration of the Stuart family was so near at hand. This is sufficiently evident from Edward Philips's Preface to his Continuation, where he speaks of Charles the Second in the highest terms, calling him "a great and illustrious prince," and ascribing to him "native generosity of soul, va-

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lour and prudence in scenes of personal action, and that fortitude in suffering with constant equanimity, which no lesse beseems an heroic spirit then that of doing bravely,"—yet adds, "Of the misfortunes that attend this prince, I am easily induc'd to think he undergoes not any greater then this, That he is chiefly accompanied, and for the most part abetted by a generation of men, who suffer themselves to be carried, upon every little gust of hope, unto such a heighth of empty confidence, as leads them inevitably to their own confusion."

The love indeed of the author to the family of Stuart is eminently shown, upon every occasion where it could gracefully be introduced. His account of the trial and death of Charles the First is animated and pathetic; and when he introduces his hero upon the scaffold, he observes, "The king was nothing daunted at the sight of the block or the axe, nor to behold his executioner, who was more possessed with fear than he, and therefore disguized with a vizard."

The character with which Edward Philips dismisses the royal sufferer, is still more evidently stamped with a spirit of kindness. "And thus you have exactly, though in brief, described the life, the for the most part troublesome reign, and the untimely and deplorable death, of this once great and powerful monarch. A prince he was, not ill beloved of his subjects whilst alive; And although by some his memory is branded with the name of Tyrant, yet by others it receives the style of Saint and Martyr: nor could I ever perceive by the general suffrage of people, but that he is accounted to have been a pious man, and good king, though some miscarriages

might happen in his reign, through his overmuch lenity, and trusting too much to some about him, who sought their own interests more than the public good."

It was natural however, writing under a government that seemed to be sufficiently established and firm, and just after the close of the prosperous and splendid administration of Cromwel, that the continuator of Baker should not perpetually show a bias to one party, but should hold a sort of even march between the royalists and their adversaries; and this proceeding seems to have been sufficiently in accord with the candid and equable temper of Edward Philips. According, in summing the character of the memorable Protector, the author seems sufficiently disposed to look on the favourable side.

"His character," says Edward Philips, "hath been at large delivered by others, and truly by some not altogether without flattery, though much might be sayd in his praise: but to comprehend him in short, it is sufficiently known to the world, that he was a man of singular courage and undaunted resolution, and that attended with a most prosperous stream of fortune. Nor can it be denied that he had much of generosity, and many noble things in his nature. As for his policy and sagacity of parts, what better instance then his life, so recent in memory? How did he raise himself by a gradual progress to the highest pitch of honour, and had doubtless attain'd the supreme title, had he remain'd among the living never so little longer? How did he fit himself with the choicest instruments, and the ablest ministers of state, and often times mould and form men to his own purpose? how did he make use of all

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parties and interests, carrying on his own affairs by them? What powerful influence had he upon the forein states and kingdoms, so interweaving his own interests among them, that he was ever on the most successful side, or at least made that side the most prosperous which he adhered unto?"

From somewhat of the same cause which rendered Edward Philips thus liberal in his estimate of Cromwel, he was also led occasionally to insert trifling circumstances and tales unfavourable to the royal party, which in the editions printed subsequently to the Restoration were carefully suppressed.

In the mean time he proves his predilection for the royal party by the very title he has given to his continuation, which he calls "A Continuation of the Chronicle of England, to the End of the Year 1658: Being a Full Narrative of the Affairs of England, Scotland and Ireland; more especially relating unto the Transactions of Charles, Crowned King of the Scots at Scone, on the First Day of January 1650 [1651]." Nor is it quite insignificant to observe, that the title is further ornamented with a vignette of a regal coronet, and the initials, C. R., on each side of this coronet. For the style here adopted the writer apologises somewhat lamely in the last sentence of the book. "Moreover, since this volume is that which contains the lives of the kings of England, I knew not better how with decorum to continue it, then by couching the transactions of the latest fore-going years under the name of a person, if not a king, yet at least lineally descended of the race of English kings, as being eldest son of the last king of Great Britain; himself also having been crowned by the estates of Scotland."

From a further anxiety to leave on the minds of his readers a favourable impression respecting "this Illustrious Unfortunate," as he calls him, Edward Philips winds up his story with a "character, once delivered of him (a more proper then which there could not have been given any, as proceeding from him who profest to have known him from his tender years) by an honourable person at his death:[e] Certainly, sayd this lord, I that have been a counsellour to him, and have lived long with him, and in a time when discovery is easily enough made, for he was young (he was about fifteen or sixteen years of age) those years I was with him, [ought to be considered a credible evidence of his dispositions]: and truly I never saw greater hopes of vertue in any young person, then in him; great judgment, great understanding, strong apprehension, much honour in his nature, and truly a very perfect Englishman in his inclinations.—Nor have there been wanting," adds the Continuator, "several others, who upon their own knowledge, have been high in commendation both of him, and his brother, the duke of York."

The account given in this continuation, of the imprisonment and death of the marquis of Montrose, particularly deserves to be referred to. This pathetic tale is by no historian more skilfully and impressively told, than by Edward Philips. Indeed the general character of his composition in this work, is the most censurable carelessness and slovenliness; and the printing is not less shamefully defective, than a great part of the writing: but, where the author feels himself animated

[e] Arthur lord Capel, beheaded 9 March 1649; his speech on the scaffold.

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Such was the Continuation of sir Richard Baker's Chronicle, as published by Edward Philips during the reign of the Commonwealth. The last incidents mentioned in this narrative are the captivity of sir George Booth, and the conferences of cardinal Mazarine and Don Lewis de Haro in the island of Pheasants, both occurring in the month of August 1659; and little did the writer suspect, that, in so very short a time from his closing his work, the personage whom he so modestly, yet forwardly praises, would be placed on the throne of England, with no other restrictions than his own frail promises and declarations.

1664. Another edition of Baker was called for in 1664; and Edward Philips was again employed in preparing it for the press. "The secrecy of love," as Dr. Johnson might with more propriety have said on this occasion, "was put an end to by this revolution;" and it is in a very different style that the continuator now treats of the glories of king Charles the Second.

The edition carries in the title-page the year 1665, and it appears to have been licensed for the press on the sixteenth of December 1664. The author professes to have included in it, "many material affairs of state, never before published; and likewise the most remarkable occurrences relating to King Charles the Second's most wonderful Restauration, by the prudent conduct of George duke of Albemarle, captain ge-

neral of all his majesties armies: as they were extracted out of his excellencies own papers, and the journals and memorials of those imployed in the most important and secret transactions of that time." 1664.

This edition first bears the name of Edward Philips, signed to the epistle to the reader. The former continuation is imputed to him on the authority of Wood:[f] nor would it be difficult, from the manner of thinking and the language, to prove that he was the true author.

In the book, as published in 1665, the reign of Charles the First is entirely rewritten. The former copy was by no means without a sufficient leaning toward the royal cause; and the present copy is far from exhibiting the intemperate sallies of a furious partisan: but many remarks are occasionally interspersed, calculated to gratify the favourers of the Stuarts; while some parts of the story are compressed, and others dilated, accordingly as they might be thought to reflect honour on the king and his friends, or deemed to be less or more interesting now, than they were to the readers of our Chronicles under the ascendancy of the republic. The trial of the earl of Strafford has occupied a very particular portion of our author's care.

But however temperate Edward Philips may be in the general strain even of his improved narrative, he now and then breaks out into a tenour of writing that might not be unworthy of the most furious zealot. The following expressions

[f] See particularly the article of Sir Richard Baker.

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from his revised character of Charles the First may serve for an instance of this.

"He was the best of husbands, and (perchance) the best of men. His general insight in arts and sciences, both liberal and mechanical, was wonderful; nor was any prince better instructed in the principles of government. In effect, he was too Good a Man to be a Happy Prince; and rather betrayed by his own tenderness, than subdu'd by the force of his adversaries. The rebellion was in it self barbarous; but the formalities of proceeding against him, by Arraignment, Tryal, Sentence, and Execution, fill'd all Christendom with indignation and horror; and his blood yet cries aloud for vengeance upon the promoters, as well as the instruments of that execrable murder."

Of the Restoration Philips speaks in his Preface in the following terms, borrowed from the Coronation Sermon of Morley, bishop of Worcester: "It was a generous, glorious, and heroical design, whereby its author at once redeemed his country both from slavery and oppression, by restoring the king to his people, and the people to their king."

Referring to what he calls "a seditious pamphlet, penned with the utmost virulency and malice," entitled A Letter from Brussels,[s] which was published a few weeks before the king's return, he says, "with this some of his majesties most implacable enemies attempted to poyson or palliate the now high expectations and impressions of his good subjects: and

[s] Written by Marchamont Needham, one of Milton's intimate friends.

it was in truth so fatally timed, and so subtily contrived, that it had like to have done a great deal of mischief amongst some, who were not acquainted with the innate and unparalleled inclination of his majesty to clemency."

The encounter of general Monk and his brother-in-law, a few days before Charles's landing, is thus described. "At Rochester sir Thomas Clarges met the general, and presented unto him his majesties letter, with royal and most indeared assurances of esteem, from the best of kings, to the worthiest and most deserving of subjects."

Further on, the writer talks in this drivelling style of the first meeting of Monk and the king on the sands at Dover. "All that were present, put themselves into posture to see the meeting of the king and the general. The admirers of majesty were jealous on his majesties behalf, of too low a condescension; and the lovers of duty fearful on the other side, of an ostentation of merit: But such an humble prostration was made by the general, and so generous a reception by his majesty kissing and imbracing him, that all parties were satisfied to admiration."[h]

Presently after, Mr. Philips proceeds, "Thus was his majesty conducted to his royal palace at Whitehall, on the nine-

[h] By the way a whimsical circumstance occurs in Philips's description of the cavalcade from Dover to Canterbury. "At one end of the coach next the king sate the duke of York, and at the other the duke of Gloucester and the general, and the duke of Buckingham sate in the boot." Query, where was the boot? and must not Villiers,

"That life of pleasure, and that soul of whim,"

and who might in various respects be considered as the first subject in the kingdom, have made a strange figure in this ludicrous situation?

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and-twentieth day of May, his birth-day; and with him peace and happiness remained to his kingdoms and people, which *all good men* desire may be for ever continued to them, under the happy government of him and his posterity." [The words, *all good men*, are not in italics in the original.]

Not to tire the reader with a multitude of similar quotations, I will proceed to the afternoon of the coronation, which the author himself seems to regard as that graceful and masterly finish with which he may well wind up his historical labours.

"It is a thing very memorable, that towards the end of dinner-time, (although all the former part of the day, and also the preceding day, in which the king made his cavalcade through London, were the only fair days that we enjoyed of many, both before and after,) it began to thunder and lighten very smartly; which some sort of people were apt to interpret as ominous, and ill-boding.—

"But, in reference to our present purpose, we may proceed to a larger interpretation, and conclude, that the Heavens, with the volleys of thunder, and nimble flashes of lightning, seemed to give a *Plaudite* and Acclamation to this grand and sacred solemnity, in like manner as we mortals use to close our greater triumphs with fire-works, bonfires, and the loud report of our great ordnance; this terrestrial thunder being but the imitator and counterfeit of the heavenly artillery."

I feel most happy in here putting an end to the narrative of the offences of at least the elder of Milton's nephews. Through the remainder of his life I trace no further hostilities

on his part to the principles of his uncle, and I meet with many evidences of his attachment to his person and his writings. It is to be presumed, as nothing appears to the contrary, that he superintended the editions of Baker, which were printed during the next twenty or thirty years; and the brevity and coldness of the pages afterwards added, seem to afford a pretty convincing evidence that the writer regarded Charles and his court with less delight, than when he was first set to record the wonders of the Restoration. He became less young; the drunkenness and riot of the zealots of royalty had fewer charms for him; and as his mind grew sober, he increased more and more in his affectionate and reverential sentiments toward our immortal poet, which he was fortunate enough to have frequent occasions, that he with avidity embraced, of displaying in the face of the public.

It is difficult to decide what degree of intercourse took place between Edward Philips and Milton, during this period of the young man's self-oblivion and dishonour. Perhaps the great poet conducted himself with that moderation best becoming his mighty mind, waiting till his nephew should recollect the better principles instilled into him in his education, and assured that patience and equanimity were the best means which could be employed for forwarding that recollection. On the other hand it may be alleged, that the visits of the apostate to his uncle must be a voluntary act, and that shame and conscious delinquency were likely to restrain him from the performance of that act. But the force of this consideration will be in a great degree removed, if we reflect on the natural ascendancy of a mind of more celestial materials over his inferior, and that

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the benignity of Milton might well force his young kinsman to do that from which in any other case he would have shrunk. One part of the history is favourable to this hypothesis; Milton is said to have been forwarded in obtaining his indemnity from the new government, among other persons, by sir Thomas Clarges;[i] and sir Thomas Clarges [the brother-in-law of Monk] is named by Wood, as the very person whose papers were put into the hands of Edward Philips, for the purpose of compiling his sequel to Baker. May we not indulge a hope then, that this young man was fortunate enough to have been an active instrument, in securing the safety and life of the author of Paradise Lost?

Milton was for some time in a situation of great peril. He was, as he says of himself,

> "fallen on evil days,
> On evil days was fallen and evil tongues,
> In darkness, and with dangers compassed round
> And solitude."

He escaped indeed with life and personal liberty. This however was not fully ascertained till at least the close of the year of the Restoration, as in the December of that year he was in custody of the serjeant-at-arms of the house of commons. He also lost 2000*l.*, "which he had put for security and improvement into the excise office, but neglecting to recal it in time, could never after get it out, with all the power and interest he had in the great ones of those times;" beside another considerable sum of which he is said to have been deprived, "by mismanagement and for want of good advice."

[i] Richardson, Notes on Milton, Introduction.

A further bitter aggravation of Milton's distresses at this time was the behaviour of his daughters, the eldest of whom was born in the year 1646. We should have judged the situation of such a man as Milton sufficiently calamitous, blind, robbed, I suppose, of the principal part of his property, hunted out of society, sheltered, according to one account, by the device of a mock funeral, hidden, like Osbaldiston, the master of Westminster school, in a nameless corner from the pursuers of the law, hearing from day to day of the legal insults and murders committed on his dearest friends, surrounded on all sides by the shouts, the acclamations, and the drunken riots of the frantic royalists, apprehended, and at length with difficulty permitted to withdraw with liberty and life.

The cruelty of his situation however was rendered still more bitter, as we have said, by the behaviour of his nearest relatives. His daughters are doubtless to be considered as in some degree unfortunate in the want of a mother. Mary Powel, who brought them into the world, died in 1652, at the very time that she gave birth to the youngest of the three. Two years after, their father married again, but his wife died within twelve months after her marriage. We are not to suppose however that Milton was neglectful of their best interests. The avocations of his office as Latin secretary, and his literary engagements, which he considered as a most imperious duty, must indeed have considerably occupied him. But he expended "the greatest part of his estate in providing for them,"[k] and among other things, had them taught various kinds of

[k] Nuncupative Will of Milton, with the Depositions annexed.

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curious needlework,[l] an art then much in vogue, to enable them to earn a subsistence. Milton's grand-daughter, born several years after the death of the poet, related, that he would not allow them to learn to write, which he thought unnecessary for a woman;[m] but Aubrey, who knew him intimately, says that his youngest daughter was occasionally his amanuensis.[n] "He taught her Latin, and to read Greek."[n] This is by no means the picture of a father, who disdained to concern himself with his children's improvement. It was this daughter, who many years after, when she was shown the portrait of her father, burst out into exclamations of love,[o] and who testified of him, that he "was delightful company, the life of the conversation, and that on account of a flow of subject, and an unaffected cheerfulness and civility."[o] As to Milton's ideas of female excellence, we are enabled to speak of them from the information of an adversary. "We believe you count no woman to due conversation accessible, as to you, except she can speak Hebrew, Greek, Latine and French, and dispute against the canon-law as well as you, or *at least* be able to hold discourse with you."[p]

These daughters however, deprived as they were of a mother's vigilance and care, appear to have formed the most pernicious habits. The eldest was deformed and lame.[q] She, and perhaps her next sister, for the third was too young to be

[l] Nuncupative Will of Milton, with the Depositions annexed. Appendix, No. II.
[m] Newton, Life of Milton. [n] Appendix, No. I.
[o] Richardson, Notes on Milton, Introduction, p. xxxvi.
[p] Answer to the Doctrine of Divorce, *apud* Todd.
[q] Newton, Life of Milton. Nuncupative Will, with Depositions.

involved in the accusation, found their favourite relaxation in the society of a maid-servant, with whom they combined against their father, and advised her to cheat him with a false account of her marketings.[r] They made away with some of his books, and would have sold the rest to the dunghil-women.[r] So that this wonderful man, to whom it is the glory of this island to have given birth, was obliged, in his own defence against the conspiracy of his offspring, to marry a third time. This connection was formed by him in 1662. The lady he now married, by name Elizabeth Minshul, survived her husband more than fifty years; and the great poet never had reason to repent the engagement into which he thus entered.

It is doubtful when Milton commenced his stupendous work of the Paradise Lost. Philips, in his Life of the poet, seems to intimate, that it was begun under the protectorate of Cromwel. It was not published however till the year 1667, and it is therefore not improbable that it was not entered upon till after the Restoration. Be that as it will, we are equally compelled to consider Milton, under calamities that would have broken the heart of any ordinary man, either as entirely composing, or at least prosecuting to its conclusion, the sublimest and most admirable work that was ever engendered in any human mind. Well might this man say of himself,

> " ——these eyes, though clear,
> To outward view, of blemish or of spot,
> Bereft of light, their seeing have forgot;

[r] Nuncupative Will, with Depositions.

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Nor to their idle orbs doth sight appear
Of sun, or moon, or star, throughout the year,
Or man, or woman. Yet I argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope; but still bear up, and steer
Right onward."

It is pleasing to us to consider, that in addition to all other means of consolation and support, and to the society of the friends he valued most, who we may be sure would not desert him in his adversity, he enjoyed the frequent visits of him, whom I am now willing to call his ingenuous nephew. Edward Philips tells us of himself, "I had the perusal of this poem from the very beginning, for some years, as I went from time to time to visit him, in a parcel of ten, twenty, or thirty verses at a time, which being written by whatever hand came next, might possibly want correction as to the orthography and pointing."

CHAPTER VII.

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS OF THE NEPHEWS OF MILTON.—COMMENDATORY VERSES TO HENRY LAWES.—EDITION OF THE POEMS OF DRUMMOND.—*ILLUSTRIOUS SHEPHERDESS*, A TRANSLATION.—*NEW WORLD OF ENGLISH WORDS*.—EDWARD PHILIPS ENGAGED AS TUTOR TO JOHN EVELYN, JUNIOR, TO THE EARL OF PEMBROKE, AND THE DUCHESS OF GRAFTON.—*ENUMERATIO POETARUM RECENTIORUM*.—EARLY HONOURS PAID TO THE *PARADISE LOST*.—*VIRGIL TRAVESTIE*.—*DUELLUM MUSICUM*.—*NEW WORLD OF WORDS* ATTACKED BY SKINNER AND BLOUNT.—DEATH OF MILTON.

CHAP. VII. 1653.

It is time we should return to the literary productions of the nephews of Milton, the notice of several of which has been suspended, that we might the better take into one view whatever had a strict relation to one subject.

The first time, independently of John Philips's *Responsio ad Apologiam Anonymi Cujusdam*, written under his uncle's eye, that these young men appeared in print, was in a copy of verses, furnished by each, and prefixed, together with several complimentary verses by Waller and others, to the First Book of Ayres and Dialogues (a series of musical compositions), by Henry Lawes, published in folio, in 1653. Henry Lawes was one of the most eminent musical professors of his time; and it was he who set to music the Odes of Waller, the Psalms of Sandys, and the choral and lyrical parts of *Cœlum Britannicum*,

CHAP. VII. 1653.

a masque, by Carew. Particularly he gained a high degree of popularity and reputation by the music to Cartwright's "Complaint of Ariadne for the Desertion of Theseus." But his name will principally be rendered familiar to posterity, by the circumstance of his having composed the music to Comus, performed at Ludlow Castle in 1634, and afterward ushered to the press in a short dedication by him in 1637. Milton himself honoured him with a sonnet, prefixed to a publication of "Choice Psalms, put into Musick" by him and his brother in 1648; and the following lines, descriptive of a character in Comus, which was represented by the musician in person, may perhaps be considered as meaned to apply, as much to the performer, as to the feigned character in the drama.

"But first I must put off
These my skie robes, spun out of Iris wooff,
And take the weeds and likenes of a swain
That to the service of this house belongs,
Who with his soft pipe and smooth dittied song,
Well knows to still the wilde winds when they roar,
And hush the waving woods, nor of less faith."

Milton, as we are told by Aubrey, "made his nephews songsters, and sing from the time they were with him;" and we shall meet with frequent proofs of their partiality for music and the composers of music, in the course of this narrative. It was to be expected therefore that they would be anxious to appear among the crowd of admirers and applauders of a man, at once so skilful and so amiable as Henry Lawes, upon this early occasion.

CHAP. VII. 1656.

In 1656 Edward Philips distinguished himself by collecting together, and publishing in one volume, octavo, "The Most Elegant and Elaborate Poems of that Great Court-Wit, Mr. William Drummond of Hawthornden." The verses of this author have an uncommon degree of sweetness, sensibility and elegance; and the choice made of him in this instance by Edward Philips, may naturally be supposed to have been suggested by the taste and partiality of Milton. This edition of Drummond is now extremely scarce; and as the preface of the editor has never been reprinted, it may not be improper to introduce it in this place.

"Ingenious Reader,

"To say that these Poems are the effect of a Genius, the most polite and verdant that ever the Scottish nation produced, although it be a commendation not to be rejected (for it is well known that that country hath afforded many rare and admirable wits), yet it is not the highest that may be given him; for should I affirm that neither Tasso, nor Guarini, nor any of the most neat and refined spirits of Italy, nor even the choicest of our English Poets, can challenge to themselves any advantage above him, it could not be judged any attribute superiour to what he deserves; nor shall I think it any arrogance to maintain, that among all the severall fancies, that in these times have exercised the most nice and curious judgements, there hath not come forth any thing that deserves to be welcom'd into the world with greater estimation and applause: And though he hath not had the good fortune to be so generally fam'd abroad, as many others, perhaps of lesse

CHAP. VII. 1656.

esteeme, yet this is a consideration that cannot at all diminish, but rather advance his credit; For by breaking forth of obscurity he will attract the higher admiration, and like the Sun emerging from a Cloud, appeare at length with the more forcible Rayes. Had there been nothing extant but his History of Scotland, consider but the Language, how florid and ornate it is; consider the order, and the prudent conduct of the Story, and you will ranke him in the number of the best writers, and compare him with Thuanus himselfe. Neither is he lesse happy in his Verse than Prose: for here are all those graces met together, that conduce toward the making up of a compleat and perfect Poet, a decent and becomming Majesty, a brave and admirable height, and a wit so flowing, that Jove himselfe never drank Nectar that sparkled with a more spritly lustre; should I dwell any longer (ingenuous Reader) upon the commendation of this incomparable Author, I should injure thee by forestalling the freedome of thy owne judgement, and him by attempting a vain designe, since there is nothing that can so well set him forth as his own works; besides the losse of time, which is but trifled away so long as thou arte detained from perusing the Poems themselves.

" E. P."

As Edward Philips, who is ranked by Winstanley and Jacob in the roll of our English Poets, has left but few productions in verse that can certainly be known to be his, I shall insert here, as a specimen of his talents for this species of composition, his commendatory verses prefixed, with those of Spotswood and others, to this volume.

Upon the Incomparable Poems of Mr. William Drummond.

" To praise these Poems well, there doth require
The selfe-same spirit, and that sacred fire
That first inspir'd them; yet I cannot choose
But pay an admiration to a Muse
That sings such handsome things; never brake forth,
From climes so neare the Beare, so bright a worth;
And I believe the Caledonian bowers
Are full as pleasant, and as rich in flowers,
As Tempe e'er was fam'd, since they have nourish'd
A wit the most sublime that ever flourish'd;
There 's nothing cold or frozen here contain'd,
Nothing that 's harsh, unpolish'd, or constrain'd,
But such an ardour, as creates the spring,
And throws a chearfulnesse on every thing;
Such a sweet calmnesse runs through every verse,
As shews how he delighted to converse
With silence and his Muse, among those shades,
Which care, nor busy tumult e'er invades;
There would he oft the adventures of his loves
Relate, unto the fountains and the groves,
In such a straine, as Laura had admir'd
Her Petrarch more, had he been so inspir'd.
Some Phœbus gives a smooth and streaming veine;
A great and happy fancy some attaine;
Others unto a soaring height he lifts:
But here he hath so crouded all his gifts,
As if he had design'd in one to try
To what a pitch he could bring Poetry.
For every grace should he receive a crown,
There were not bays enough in Helicon.
Fame courts his Verse, and with immortal wings
Hovers about his Monument, and brings
A deathlesse trophy to his memory:—
Who for such honour would not wish to dye?

CHAP. VII.

1656.

Never could any times afford a story
Of one so match'd upto great Sidney's glory,
Or Fame so well divided, as between
Penshurst's renowned shades, and Hawthornden.
"EDW. PHILIPS."

It would be a curious point to ascertain how far Edward Philips is to be considered as the first collector, or in any emphatical sense the preserver, of the Poetical Works of Drummond. There is a peculiarly honourable recollection attaching itself to such a personage; a generous mind does not delight in the writings of an eminent genius, without feeling at the same time grateful toward him by whose instrumentality he has come into possession of that delight; and Drummond is a writer of that degree of merit, as to impart some lustre even to his editor. But I am not able to ascertain what portion of praise is due to Edward Philips on this account. The complete edition of all Drummond's works in 1711, speaks of the poems therein contained, as printed from the second Edinburgh edition of his poetical writings in 1616. This book must however have been very imperfect, as probably one half of the poems of Drummond were written subsequently to that date. It is likely that there was more than one reprint in Scotland between 1616 and 1656; and it is only from an inspection of these editions, that it can be discovered what degree of industry or good fortune may be attributable to Edward Philips in enlarging the collection.

I think I discover even in this book symptoms of the partiality of the editor toward monarchical principles and the reign of the Stuarts. Drummond's History of Scotland was

first sent to the press in the preceding year; and Edward Philips would hardly have gone out of his way to commemorate it with extravagant praise, had he not entertained some bias to the principles with which it is every where pervaded. Drummond in his political character is constantly a slave; and the contrast will be found exceedingly curious, between his courtly style, and the blunt, independent, popular spirit of Lindsay of Pittscottie, who wrote in the preceding century, in treating of the same subject. "Those who blame princes," says Drummond, "under a pure and absolute monarchy [thereby signifying Scotland, and apologising for James the Third of that country], for having favourites, would have them inhumane, base, and contemptible, and would deprive them of power to confer favours according to the distinguishing power of their understanding and conceptions. The choice a prince maketh of men whom he advanceth to great employments, is not subject to any mans censure. And were it bad, yet ought it to be pass'd over, if not approv'd; lest the discretion and judgement of the prince be questioned, and his reputation wounded."

It is fair however to remark that two or three pieces of scurrility against the republicans, and two or three obscene epigrams, which are to be found among the generally chaste and delicate poems of Drummond in the latest editions, do not occur in Edward Philips's book. Meanwhile it is rather to be believed that these idle attempts at gaiety were brought to light by the industry of the latest protectors of the fame of the Scottish poet, than that Philips entered on the task,

CHAP. VII. 1656.

hitherto wholly untried on any modern poet, of printing a castrated edition.

In the same year was published a translation, from the Spanish of Juan Perez de Montalvan, of a small novel, entitled the Illustrious Shepherdess, by E. P. This little volume is inscribed to the marchioness of Dorchester in an extraordinary style of fustian and bombast. The marchioness is complimented by the translator, as "wife to that noble lord, whose grandezza's of spirit are so many, and whose learning shines in so immense a degree [he appears to have been a man of great literary acquirements], that (not only among those of a resembling extraction, but even among the meaner sort of men, who not being considerable in themselves, may haply be incited to seek for eminence by the study and profession of arts) few have attain'd to that sublime perfection; and next as daughter to that incomparable lady, whose recent actions (great as the fame which eternally attends upon her memorie)[a] not only transcend whatever hath been done of most heroic by the most famous of her sex in all ages; but even romances themselves, whose custom it is to describe actions as boundless as fancy can suggest, have not produc'd examples more illustrious among their most exalted Hero's." Here however the translator reins in his Pegasus: "I shall not at present longer insist upon the elogium's of those illustrious personages, although they are so just, that all tongues might ambition to dwell upon them, lest I might seem to make

[a] Penelope, viscountess Bayning, daughter to Robert Naunton: qu. what are the immortal actions here alluded to?

you redevable for those honors, which are the rightful effects of your own inherent worth, unto those excellencies which are own'd by others." Nothing like this absurd style of writing is to be found in the subsequent productions of Edward Philips. The translation is however ascribed to him by Wood; and, after some hesitation, I am inclined to admit its claims, having found the two most extraordinary words in the above extract, "grandezza" and "redevable," regularly classed and explained in the work I have next to mention.—An English translation of the Illustrious Shepherdess, and of the Imperious Brother, another novel by the same author, are both named as translated by Edward Philips, under the date 1656, in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. CHAP. VII. 1656.

One of the productions of Edward Philips, which appears to have had the most extensive circulation, is his dictionary of the English language, under the title of A New World of Words. In 1659 I find the following announce of this book from Nathaniel Brook, at the Angel in Cornhill,[a] under the head of "Books very lately printed, and in the Press now printing." "The so long expected Work, The New World of English Words; or, A General Dictionary, containing the Terms, Etymologies, Definitions, and Perfect Interpretations of the Proper Signification of Hard English Words, throughout the Arts and Sciences, Liberal or Mechanick; as also Other Subjects, that are useful, or appertain to the Language of our Nation: to which is added, the Signification of Proper Names, Mythology, and Poetical Fictions, Historical Rela- 1657.

[a] List of Books, at the end of the first edition of Loveday's Letters.

CHAP. VII. 1657.

tions, and Geographical Descriptions of the Countries and Cities of the World; especially of these Three Nations; wherein their chiefest Antiquities, Battels, and other most Memorable Passages are mentioned: by E. P." It appears[b] however from the statement of a rival lexicographer [Thomas Blount], that Edward Philips's Dictionary was published as early as 1657.

The Preface to this work, in which the author endeavours to deduce the history of the English language, is remarkable for the vein of manly sense and propriety which runs through it. Edward Philips stickles warmly for the honour of his native tongue, guarding equally against those pedantic and over-subtle reasoners on the one hand, who would deny it the name of a language, because it is not an original speech of itself, but made up of terms borrowed from various nations; and the frantic innovators on the other hand, who regard all novelty as an improvement, and would cherish every term which fashion offers to their acceptance, however contrary it may be to all admissible rules in its mould and composition, and however alien in its nature to the genius of the language into which it claims to be incorporated. This work was printed in folio, and has passed through at the least six editions.

From the year 1658, when the Mysteries of Love and Eloquence made their appearance, I find no traces of Edward Philips in the capacity of an author for ten years, except so far as relates to his Continuation of Baker's Chronicle of the Kings of England, and probably a reprint of the World of

[b] World of Errors Discovered in the New World of Words.

Words, the fourth edition of which appeared in 1678: and it is in this interval that we are to place a connection formed by him, which speaks highly in favour both of his moral character, and literary reputation. This is his being appointed tutor to the only son of John Evelyn, author of "*Sylva*, or a Discourse of Forest-Trees," and of many other works, and one of the original founders of the Royal Society. Evelyn was the intimate friend of Boyle and sir Christopher Wren, familiar with Waller and Cowley, a man of innocent manners and unblemished reputation. We cannot now know at what period Edward Philips entered into this honourable connection. His pupil was born in 1654, and admitted a gentleman commoner at Oxford in 1668; his tuition under Philips may therefore be supposed to lie between the Restoration, and the latter of these periods. Nor ought it to be omitted, for the credit of the tutor, that his pupil wrote a Greek poem, prefixed to the second edition of the *Sylva*, when he was not above fifteen years of age, and about four years after published a translation of Rapin on Gardens into English verse. Edward Philips, having discharged his office in the family of Evelyn, no doubt with credit, was afterward employed in the same capacity of tutor, first, to Philip seventh earl of Pembroke, and then to Isabella, only daughter and heir to the earl of Arlington, who married 1672, at the age of sixteen, Henry duke of Grafton, natural son to king Charles the Second. This lady had for her fellow-pupil under the tuition of Edward Philips, Henry Bennet, her father's brother's son.[c]

[c] Wood, Athenæ Oxonienses, Vol. II.

CHAP. VII.

1669.

In 1669 Edward Philips was employed to superintend an edition, the seventeenth, of a work of Buchlerus, entitled *Phrasium Poeticarum Thesaurus*. This book was at that time probably the manual generally adopted in schools, for the assistance of youth in the composition of Latin verse, and was afterward superseded for the volume, called *Gradus ad Parnassum*, which made its appearance in 1686. This circumstance affords a whimsical illustration of the precarious tenure of fame and notoriety. The Thesaurus of Buchlerus, which was written in the seventeenth century, and underwent so many impressions, is scarcely now to be found in any library; and I have sought in vain for the name of the author in every General Dictionary of authors and learned men, to which I could resort, and the existence of which I could call to mind.

Paradise Lost was published in the year 1667. By what degrees it rose to that reputation in the literary world, from which it is destined at no future period to decline, it is not now possible minutely to ascertain. There is no reason however to suppose that it ever passed through an ordeal of obscurity. We know that thirteen hundred copies of the work were sold, in two years from the date of the contract, by which Milton disposed of the copy-right to the bookseller. The second edition, which was brought out under the superintendence and correction of the author in 1674, is ushered in by two copies of verses, the first in English by Andrew Marvel, and the second in Latin by Samuel Barrow, physician to the army under general Monk, and who had been actively concerned in bringing about the Restoration, in the latter of which

the poem is expressly placed "above all Greek, above all Roman fame." Dryden, the poet-laureat, and the most popular writer of verses in that period, had, with the author's permission, turned Milton's story into an opera, entitled the State of Innocence, which was also published in 1674. In the preface to this performance Dryden observes, "What I have here borrowed, will be so easily discerned from my mean productions, that I shall not need to point the reader to the places—the original being undoubtedly one of the greatest, most noble and sublime poems, which either this age or nation has produced."[d] 1669.

Milton died in the same year in which the second edition of Paradise Lost was published.[e] He did not live long enough therefore, to witness that indispensible seal to its excellence, the attack of a completely armed and redoubted critic. It was not till the year 1677, exactly ten years from the period in which it was first published, that the celebrated Thomas Rymer, the loudest and the fiercest of all the adversaries that ever assailed the reputation of Shakespear, threatened, in his "Tragedies of the Last Age Considered," shortly to issue from the press "some reflections on that Paradise lost of Miltons, which some are pleased to call a poem." Dr. Johnson has marked a curious example of the gradual progress of the fame of Paradise Lost, as it is exhibited in the Essay on Poetry of Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamshire, though he has quoted it

[d] "Dryden however at this time knew not half the extent of Milton's excellence, as more than twenty years afterwards he confessed to me." Dennis's Letters, Moral and Critical, 1721, p. 75.

[e] The third edition appeared in 1678.

CHAP. VII. 1669.

with his usual inaccuracy.[f] The concluding couplet of this pamphlet, in the first edition, stands thus. The writer of the noblest epic, says he,

> "Must above Cowley, nay and Milton too prevail,
> Succeed where great Torquato, and our greater Spenser fail."

This was afterward altered into

> "Must above Tasso's lofty flights prevail,
> Succeed where Spenser, and even Milton fail."

In a word, "must be a Virgil." I am unable to assign the date at which this alteration was introduced: the poem was first published in 1682. Another illustration of the honourable light in which Milton was at this time regarded, may be found in Roscommon, a poet of the same period, in a didactic performance, entitled an Essay on Translated Verse. This poem concludes with a passage of nearly thirty lines, constituting a sort of abstract from Milton's battle of the fallen angels in the Sixth Book of his work, which is given by the writer as a specimen of what the noblest kind of verse ought to be. I am unable to say whether this passage was found in the first edition of Roscommon's piece; but the difference amounts to very little, as the Essay on Translated Verse was published in 1680, and the author died in 1684.

It happened, as was most becoming and gratifying on this memorable occasion, that the first person, so far as has come down to us, that committed to the press his feeling of the merits of Paradise Lost, was Edward Philips. To the edition

[f] Life of Sheffield, in the Lives of the Poets.

of Buchlerus abovementioned, which was published exactly two years after the Paradise Lost, Philips has subjoined two little essays, the first on the "Dramatic Versification of the Ancients," and the second a "Compendious Enumeration of the Poets, who have flourished in Italy, Germany, England and France, from the time of Dante," to that in which this catalogue was written. This is, I believe, the earliest professed Catalogue of English Poets in existence, and, like all the productions of Edward Philips which admit of such a display, exhibits an extensive knowledge of whatever is connected with the subject of which he has to treat. The name of Milton occurs in its proper place, and the affectionate nephew speaks of his illustrious uncle in these terms.

"John Milton, beside other things in the most elegant style of composition which he has written, both in Latin and English, has lately presented at the bar of the public Paradise Lost: a Poem, which, whether we consider the majesty of the subject, or the united poignancy and loftiness of the style, or the sublimity of the invention, or the propriety and felicity of the similitudes and descriptions, will receive, if I do not mistake, the name of truly Heroic, and is adjudged by the suffrages of many, not unqualified to decide such a question, to have reached the perfection of this species of poetry."[g]

[g] "*Joannes Miltonius, præter alia quæ scripsit elegantissima, tum Anglicè, tum Latinè, nuper publici juris fecit* Paradisum Amissum, *Poema, quod, sive sublimitatem argumenti, sive leporem simul et majestatem styli, sive sublimitatem inventionis, sive similitudines et descriptiones quam maximè naturales, respiciamus, verè Heroicum, ni fallor, audiet: plurium enim suffragiis qui non nesciunt judicare, censetur perfectionem hujus generis poematis assecutum esse.*"

CHAP. VII. 1672.

In the year 1672 John Philips came before the public in a style a little different from that of his worthier senior. His production was a Travestie of the Fifth Book of the Æneid of Virgil; and in the following year he exhibited a similar operation on the Sixth Book. This is a species of writing that can do no man much honour. Travestie or parody may be divided into two classes; that which is intended to ridicule absurdity, and that the purpose of which is to extract gaiety and laughter from compositions in their own nature grave and admirable. The Rehearsal by the duke of Buckingham is the best specimen of the former. At a period when false taste seems to prevail in an eminent degree, which will be most likely to happen when a man of splendid talents, like Dryden, condescends to sacrifice his better judgment for the specious allurement of a temporary popularity, an author of wit has the appearance of doing the public a service, who shall undertake to recal them to sobriety and good sense by the force of ridicule.

But ridicule and contemptuous criticism are dangerous weapons. It is considerably owing to these treacherous allies and supporters of taste and good sense, that the bolder sallies of genius, peculiar to the early ages of literature, are afterwards extinguished, and that we, who are unhappily fallen upon too late a period, for the most part witness nothing but mediocrity, works written under the operation of terror, and of that anticipation of the critic sarcasm and pointed sneer, which, of all kinds of discipline under which genius can be placed, the free-born Muse regards with most impatience and disdain.

The second kind of travestie has still less that can be alleged

in its favour. Its direct operation is to pollute our better feelings, and tarnish with a putrifying film of ridicule all the noblest and most exquisite effusions of the human mind. Unfortunately too it is here that ridicule most easily takes hold. We cannot laugh at nothing. The prattle of inanity bids defiance to the ludicrous. There must be something of what we are accustomed to view with honour, in the composition we are successfully invited to contemplate again and again with bursts of laughter against the author. It may be that this shall be mixed, as it was in Dryden, with intolerable extravagance and bombast. But that which is easiest turned into burlesque, and affords the most permanent hold for an attack of that sort, is a language and sentiments that had before excited in us the deepest and most sacred emotions. The very contrast between the solemn feelings with which these things had formerly been regarded, and the unexpected colour of absurdity which is given them now, makes the temptation to laughter the more violent and irresistible. The most successful passages in Sheridan's farce of the Critic, are those in which he has put in a ludicrous point of view some of the noblest sallies of Shakespear.

The author who led the way in this species of buffoonery was a Frenchman, of the name of Scarron. He was soon imitated in England by Charles Cotton, a man of so good feelings, so easy a temper, and so flowing a vein of careless, yet animated poetry, that I am grieved to cite him on the present occasion. In compliment to the writer who preceded him in this style of composition, he has called his imitation of the

CHAP. VII.

1672. First and Fourth Books of Virgil, published in 1664, Scarronides. Then came the production of John Philips, which is infinitely the most odious and loathsome performance of the kind I have seen. I find in it various marks, however incredible that may appear, of having been written in an express spirit of spite and malignity against Milton.[h]

I have known men indulge themselves in this vein of scurrile distortion against an author and a work for which they have acknowledged a real admiration. How far this was the case with Scarron and Cotton in their insults on Virgil I am unable to determine. Philips is however perfectly ingenuous on the subject. "Men may cavil at my subject," says he, "as perhaps some pædagogues may for affronting their classic author.—In my opinion however this book of Maro is but an enthusiastick piece of drollery it self; so that I have only done him the office of a commentator: only stript him of his old Roman dress, and put him into the fashion *à-la-mode*."

1673. There is one thing in this book that I regard as consummately detestable. We have seen with how many calamities the great mind of Milton was assailed, not overwhelmed, immediately after the period of the Restoration. What he felt probably as the sharpest of these, was the contumelious treat-

[h] The title of John Philips's publication is Maronides, or Virgil Travestie. It is somewhat singular, that I find in a catalogue of books, at the end of Kirkman's "Wits; or Sport upon Sport, Part I," published in the same year, 1672, the following title: Virgil in Droll, by Scurron [*sic*], Englished by Montelion, Knight of the Oracle. The name of Montelion would tempt one to believe, that this was John Philips's book, with only a variation of the title.

ment and untimely destruction of the men he principally loved. CHAP. VII. 1673.

> "Such as thou hast solemnly elected,
> With gifts and graces eminently adorned,
> To some great work, thy glory.—
> Yet toward these, thus dignified, thou oft,
> Amidst their height of noon,
> Changest thy countenance and thy hand.—
> Oft leavest them to the hostile sword
> Of Heathen and profane, their carcasses
> To dogs and fowls a prey; or else captived;
> Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times,
> And condemnation of the ingrateful multitude."

It will hardly be believed, that John Philips, whether excited by his overflowing loyalty, or stimulated by the anticipation of a sordid interest, or taught, as we have already said, by an habitual malignity; at best with an utter oblivion of and indifference to the most sacred ties; has taken the opportunity of Eneas's descent into the shades, to exhibit Harrison and Bradshaw and Vane, and their fellow-patriots and victims for the public cause, in hell. It is to be hoped, as this version of the Sixth Book of Virgil was only published in the year before Milton's death, that he never saw or heard of this barbarous insult to his dearest partialities.—But, no! it matters not. Milton could not be insulted by the calumnies of such a reptile. He sat sublime in conscious virtue, assured of the purity of his creed, and the merits of his friends, and regarded the dust that was thrown on their sacred heads, as equalling only in weight the motes that play in the sun-beams.

About the same time John Philips appeared as an author,

CHAP. VII. 1673.

in conjunction with the celebrated Matthew Locke, the musical composer, whose music to the incantations in Macbeth continues to this day to hold its place on the stage. The occasion of John Philips's writing in the present instance was this. A book was published by a young man, a master of arts of the university of Oxford, named Thomas Salmon, the object of which was "a proposal for taking away the different cliffs in music, and uniting all tunes and compositions for voice and instrument, violin, organ, harpsichord, lute, &c. in one universal character." Matthew Locke, as being at this time probably at the head of his profession, thought himself most concerned to repel this innovation, and accordingly wrote Observations on Thomas Salmon's performance, to which was prefixed an epigram by John Philips, turning on a trite comparison of the contention of Salmon and Locke to the old contention, of mythological fame, between Marsyas and Apollo. Salmon immediately again appeared in a very angry Vindication against Locke, in which, not contented with bestowing what purported to be a severe castigation on the unfortunate musician, he takes more notice than could be expected in such a case, of John Philips's verses, calling him, among other ingenious appellations, "a terrible fellow in buff," and "an epigrammatical poetaster." John Philips was now provoked in his turn, and a book being manufactured between him and "his friend," as he denominates Locke, entitled the Present Practice of Music Vindicated, Philips employs all his wit and ingenuity for fifty pages together, under the title of *Duellum Musicum*, to make his censurer ridicu-

lous; while the share of Matthew Locke, under whose name this little volume is known, scarcely extends to half that quantity. CHAP. VII.

Edward Philips's English Dictionary, entitled the New World of Words, had now been fourteen or fifteen years before the public, and had passed through several editions, when it was attacked with great severity by Dr. Stephen Skinner, in a posthumous folio, published in 1671, four years after the death of its author, and entitled "*Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ.*" This work is distributed into five alphabets, containing the etymology of English words in general, of terms of botany, of law-terms, of words somewhat antiquated and obsolete, and of proper names. In the fourth alphabet, or that of obsolete words, Edward Philips is continually quoted, probably on an average six times in every page, and his explanations translated by Skinner, and adopted into the work. This it would be natural to interpret as a mark of honour; and the just inference would seem to be that the New World of Words was at least an excellent glossary for the explanation of terms somewhat antiquated in our language, and occurring only in the more ancient authors. In the fifteenth page however of this alphabet the compiler gets a little out of humour with his authority; and from that time he indulges occasionally (that is, once for every forty times that Edward Philips is quoted, and his explanations adopted by Skinner) in phrases of indiscriminate censure: such as, *pro more authoris exponitur absurdissimè—ridiculè, ut solet omnia—ubi notare est miserrimam authoris ignorantiam.* The fault that Skinner most frequently imputes to the New World of Words is, 1671.

CHAP. VII.

1671. that terms are inserted in it under the name of obsolete, which are the pure coinage of the author's brain: a grievous fault, if true; but difficult to ascertain. Who shall say, that he has read all the old authors? Who shall say, having read them, that he has preserved all their terms in his memory? Edward Philips's plan seems also to include, not only terms used by authors of established character, but, in addition to these, terms occurring in old ballads, or perhaps preserved only in the conversation of some particular part or province of his country.—Such is the attack of Dr. Stephen Skinner.

1673. Contemporary with the New World of Words, there had appeared a book upon a plan considerably similar, by Thomas Blount of the Inner Temple, entitled "*Glossographia*: or, a Dictionary, Interpreting the Hard Words of whatsoever Language, now used in our Refined English Tongue." This book was printed in octavo, and at a price considerably inferior to Edward Philips's.[1] The two publications had now gone on for several years in silent rivalship, each improved and enlarged in successive editions, each having its respective number of purchasers, and each of course its respective admirers.

Blount however seems to have been encouraged by the attack of Skinner, himself also to engage in open hostility against his taller competitor. Skinner was for some time an author in high repute; and his assault was perhaps of some detriment to the reputation of Edward Philips, and the value of his book in the literary market. The title of Thomas Blount's pamphlet, which was printed in folio, to match with

[1] The price of Blount's book was five, and of Philips's ten shillings.

the New World of Words, is, "A World of Errors discovered in the New World of Words, or General English Dictionary, and in *Nomothetes*, or the Interpreter of Law Words and Terms." This pamphlet appeared in 1673; and the author carefully recites the phrases against Edward Philips above quoted from the *Etymologicon* of Skinner.

In this critical essay we are in the first place informed, that the "*Glossographia* was first published in 1656, and that twelve months had not passed, but there appeared in print this New World of Words, *extracted almost wholly out of it*." He makes the same complaint against *Nomothetes*, or the Interpreter of Law Terms, by Thomas Manley, which he says was published one year subsequent to his *Nomolexicon*, or Law-Dictionary.[k] He states expressly that his *Glossographia* was the result of twenty years' labour, and complains that a man has little encouragement so to apply himself, with the hope to form a perfect work, if, immediately after, some plagiarist, in combination with one or more dishonest booksellers, is to come and rob him of the profit, and even of the credit, of what he has performed.

Much caution ought always to be preserved in listening to a charge of plagiarism. Very often it has happened for such a charge to be advanced, without any foundation but the fretful impatience and self-importance of an author; very often, when it has afterward been made out in evidence, that the

[k] Manley's book I have never seen; but as its author was twice engaged to revise and enlarge Cowel's Law Dictionary, in its successive editions, it is to be presumed that he was not altogether unqualified for his task.

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supposed plagiarist has not even seen the work, upon which he is accused of having committed his depredations. If Edward Philips's book appeared in less than twelve months after Blount's, it is more probable than not, that it was undertaken before Blount's was published. Of all works a Dictionary is most exposed to the charge of plagiarism, and is therefore the work against which such a charge should least be credited upon surmise or allegation only. How shall I contrive not to define a word in the same manner, as some other certain writer has done before me? Or, am I under any such obligation? If he has defined it well, am I obliged to define it ill? Every dictionary-maker, great or small, will of necessity place other dictionaries before him, when he sits down to work, and will take his definition from one or other of them, when he finds that they have done it so, that he cannot mend it. Wood, who, in two or three controversies he has occasion to mention, takes part, right or wrong, against Edward and John Philips, accuses the elder brother, because, when Skinner had censured him with great severity, he nevertheless, "in his later editions of the New World of Words, makes use of many things in the *Etymologicon*." But is there any thing censurable in this? Would he not have been unjust to his bookseller, and to the public, if he had done otherwise? There is likewise an inconsistency in Blount's charges, who accuses Edward Philips of unlimited plagiarism, and of the grossest mistakes. Did Edward Philips copy the mistakes here ridiculed, from the work of his competitor? Or, how came the *Glossographia*, if such constant recourse were had to it in composing the New World of Words, not to have preserved him

from falling into them?—It is also just to observe that, while Philips is censured by Skinner, Blount is never so much as named. To be arraigned and reproached is in some cases one indication that a man is not destitute of merit.

After all, it must, I believe, be confessed, that the charges of Skinner and Blount against Edward Philips are not altogether groundless on the score of incorrectness. There is much carelessness of printing, and many errors of orthography, even in the fourth edition corrected, of the date 1678, of the World of Words, which lies before me. This is peculiarly censurable in a Dictionary. Of his incorrectnesses the compiler seems to be fully sensible, and apologises for them. "As on the one part," says he, "I am sufficiently conscious not to have been wanting in my utmost industry; so on the other side, as to whatever oversights or omissions may possibly have escap'd, *through the prescription of over-ruling interests*, and for want of that profound leisure and vacancy which is absolutely requisite for the bringing of any laborious undertaking to mature perfection, I shall easily submit to the *reasonable animadversions of the candid and judicious*; and for the Errors of the Press, which, where exact attendance cannot be given, may be expected to be not a few, I have thought it sufficient, though the addition, omission, or mistake of one letter, may oftentimes very much pervert or alter the sense, to take notice only of the most material of them, well knowing how rational and obvious it is, for any person that hath put off the Pedant, and is not blinded by prejudice, to make a distinction between a Printers and an Authors mistake." [The words in italics in the above passage, are not so printed

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in the original.]—What is here inserted is all the notice Edward Philips ever condescended to take of the criticisms of Skinner and Blount. His gentle spirit felt an invincible repugnance to the fencings and woundings of controversy.

It has happened in some way, that in all the various productions of Edward Philips, you may perhaps find traces of a defect of the last touches of correctness and accuracy. His vein was rather that of eloquence, while whatever merit was possessed by his rival, savoured of the dialectic. There is no good reason why great fervour of sentiment should not be united with eminent logical acuteness; and accordingly in minds of the highest order, in Milton and lord Bacon, we actually find them so united. But in men of an inferior stamp this is perhaps never the case; and in the two redoubted champions now before us, Blount is severe and repulsive, while Edward Philips is as evidently amiable and conciliating, with a certain portion of occasional, yet censurable, negligence.

About the same time with the World of Errors Discovered, Blount, determined to gall his competitor from every side, published a small duodecimo, entitled, Animadversions on Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle and its Continuation. This is in every respect an insignificant performance. The principal errors pointed out are similar to those in the World of Errors, a neglected orthography, particularly in the catalogue of peers, placed at the beginning of the volume.

1674. The series of events has now conducted us to a memorable period in this narrative, the death of Milton. He expired full of years and of glory, on the eighth of November

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1674.

1674. His age indeed was not full sixty-six; but the incessant activity in which he passed his days, may be supposed to have exhausted his strength; and he was the victim of a confirmed gout. His funeral took place on the fourth day following, at the church of St. Giles near Cripplegate; and "all his learned and great friends in London," says Toland, "not without a friendly concourse of the vulgar, accompanied his remains to the grave." The list of these friends it is now impossible to recover: but it is obvious to conjecture, that Edward Philips, his nearest male relation, and afterward the historian of his life, probably filled the place of chief mourner, in this last farewell to the ashes of his adored preceptor and uncle. John Philips on the contrary, who, we shall have reason to think, as long as he existed never relaxed in his unnatural animosity to Milton, did not, I trust, pollute the sad solemnity with his unhallowed presence.

CHAPTER VIII.

MERCURIUS VERAX.—*THEATRUM POETARUM.*—SENTIMENTS OF MILTON AND OTHERS RESPECTING SHAKESPEAR.—*CONTINUATION OF HEATH'S CHRONICLE.*—EDITION OF SPEED'S *THEATRE OF GREAT BRITAIN.*—TRANSLATIONS OF ALMAHIDE AND PHARAMOND—OF THE TRAVELS OF TAVERNIER.

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1674. It was almost at the very period of the death of Milton, that John Philips brought out a publication of which I have never been able to obtain a sight, entitled "*Mercurius Verax:* or the Prisoner's Prognostications for the Year 1675." It is registered in Clavel's Catalogue of Books as printed and published in Michaelmas Term 1674; and the date of the Licence to this Catalogue is November the twenty-fifth. There is little room to doubt that this performance, like the Almanacs of Montelion, was written in ridicule of the astrologers, whose predictions had not yet entirely lost their credit, and that it was drawn up in the form of an Ephemeris.—What is intended by the name given it, of "The Prisoner's Prognostications?" Is it possible that the author was at this time under confinement for debt?

1675. In 1675 Edward Philips published a work entitled "*Theatrum Poetarum*, or a Compleat Collection of the Poets, especially the most Eminent, of all Ages." This book is an enlargement, or unfolding of the germ, of the Compendious Enumeration of

the Poets, published by the same author in 1667, already mentioned. CHAP. VIII. 1675.

To this work belongs a curious circumstance, which deserves to be mentioned on the present occasion. Dr. Johnson, whose neglect of all the sources of information, can only be equalled by the dogmaticalness of his assertions, having occasion to mention it in his Lives of the Poets, says, "From this wonder-working academy [Milton's plan for educating his nephews, in conjunction with the sons of some gentlemen, his friends] I do not know that there ever proceeded any man very eminent for knowledge: its only genuine product I believe is a small History of Poetry, written in Latin by his nephew Philips, of which perhaps none of my readers has ever heard."

It is not easy probably in all the annals of literature, to parallel the insolence and ignorance of this paragraph. If an academy for education is to be vindicated by the number of publications issued by its students from the press, the whole of this volume tends to prove how completely the reputation of Milton's academy will be established. There are four reasons why Dr. Johnson ought not to have made the above assertion, 1. because, a few pages after, he has distinctly spoken of John Philips's *Responsio ad Apologiam cujusdam Anonymi*. 2. because Johnson and all other biographers of Milton have used, as the first source of their materials for the life of the poet, Edward Philips's exact and excellent narrative of the days of his uncle. 3. because all books of Lives of English Poets are founded in the first instance upon Edward Philips's *Theatrum Poetarum* just mentioned; and though Johnson never looked into his original authorities, yet he must have

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seen in Jacob and Cibber, the second-hand retailers he did consult, Philips and Winstanley perpetually quoted; and this without its once occurring to his mind, that the Philips to whom he was so deeply indebted, and the nephew of Milton, treating on the same subject, might by possibility be one and the same person. 4. because presumption, separated as it is from enquiry, is no sufficiently foundation for dogmatical assertion. Dr. Johnson might have found an account of the writings of the Philipses, though an imperfect one, in the *Theatrum Poetarum*, in Winstanley, and in Wood. He might have found it in Jacob, whom he did consult: Cibber is the first who struck their names out of the catalogue of English Poets.

Dr. Johnson speaks of the "only genuine product," proceeding from the pupils of Milton, as being "a small History of Poetry, written in Latin by his nephew." It has been observed, that of the *Theatrum Poetarum* only the two first words of the title are in Latin, and the whole book is in English. This is an additional illustration of Dr. Johnson's confident way of talking in the midst of the deepest ignorance. Mr. Todd however, in the abundance of his candour, remarks, that Johnson may perhaps be considered as referring in what he says on the subject to Edward Philips's *Enumeratio Poetarum*, appended to Buchlerus, which is in Latin. I cannot imitate this candour. It is extremely improbable that Johnson, who evidently knew nothing of what he was talking about, should ever have met with this scarce volume of Buchlerus, and still more so, that he should have remarked the modest, and in that sense obscure, treatise printed at the end, and its author.

Whereas we know that he had Jacob and Cibber lying by his side, when he wrote his Lives of the Poets, and that the name of Philips's *Theatrum Poetarum* must repeatedly have struck him.

This work, the *Theatrum Poetarum*, was published at a singular moment: the author had just been attending the remains of his venerated uncle, upon the solemn occasion of seeing them consigned to mingle with their kindred dust. Edward Philips had once been gay, dissipated, one among the loudest and most licentious of the revelling royalists. He promised to be, what his brother John continued through life, a shameless, unfeeling buffoon. But, after a short period of error, Edward recollected himself. We have seen how friendly and constant he was in his attendance on his uncle, and with what affectionate eagerness he aspired to be the first herald of the praises of the Paradise Lost.

There is a manner of thinking and expression occasionally to be found in the *Theatrum Poetarum*, which has led some writers to suppose that Milton had a share in the composition of the work. The licence to the printer is dated September 14, 1674, nearly two months before the death of the great poet; and though there are phrases in the book which were certainly written afterward, it must be supposed to have been substantially composed before the date of the licence. I am not sure however that I find any thing in the work, above the rate of talent Edward Philips has displayed in his other writings. Meanwhile the suspicion here mentioned may make it amusing to analyse the work, and more especially the preface with which it is introduced. There is a striking resemblance

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of the style of Milton to be found here, very different from the productions of Edward Philips in earlier life. But this seems to me to be much more in the tone of a man anxiously and warily copying after a model that he adored, than of a great genius, in the vigour of a green old age, pouring forth his confident sentiments, assured to him by the experience and reflections of a long and now concluding life.

The preface is inscribed "To the most learned, vertuous, and by me [Edward Philips] most honoured, pair of friends," Thomas Stanley, author of the Lives of the Philosophers, and Edward Sherburne, afterward sir Edward Sherburne, translator of Manilius and Seneca. It sets out in the following manner.

"As oft as I seriously consider with my self, most worthy associates in learning and vertue, and my most honour'd friends, what a vast difference there is, or at least seems to be, between one part of mankind and the other; how near the intelligence of angels the one, how beneath the ingenuity and industry of many brute animals the other; how aspiring to the perfection of knowledge the one, how immers't in swinish sloth and ignorance the other; I am apt to wonder how it could possibly be imagin'd that the same rationality of soul should inform alike, as we are oblig'd to beleive by the authority of Sacred Scriptures and the doctrine of the souls immortality, the whole masse and frame of human nature, and not rather that there should be a gradation of notion from the lowest brute up to the angelic region: But that calling to mind the common maxim of philosophy, that the perfection of soul is the same in the infant, as in the ripe age, only acting more or less vigorously, according to the capacity of the organs; I

thence collect that there is also a different capacity of the organs, whence ariseth a different spirit and constitution, or some intervening cause, by which it either acts or lies dormant even in persons of the same age: the first is that *Melior Natura*, which the poet speaks of, with which whoever is amply indued, take that man from his infancy, throw him into the deserts of Arabia, there let him converse some years with tygers and leopards, and at last bring him where civil society and conversation abides, and ye shall see how on a sudden, the scales and dross of his barbarity purging off by degrees, he will start up a Prince or Legislator, or some such illustrious Person; the other is that noble thing call'd *Education*, this is that harp of Orpheus, that lute of Amphion, so elegantly figur'd by the poets to have wrought such miracles among irrational and insensible creatures, which raiseth beauty even out of deformity, order and regularity out of chaos and confusion; and which if throughly and rightly prosecuted, would be able to civilize the most savage natures, and root out barbarism and ignorance from off the face of the Earth: those who have either of these qualifications singly, may justly be tearm'd *Men;* those who have both united in a happy conjunction *more* than *Men;* those who have neither of them in any competent measure, certainly, in the conduct of their lives, *less* then *Men*, and of this last sort is compos'd that greatest part by far of our habitable world, (for what the nature and distinction is of the inhabitants of other orbs, is to us utterly unknown, though not any where circumscrib'd, but diffused alike through the four quarters) commonly call'd the vulgar or multitude: I mean not altogether those of the lowest

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birth and fortune; but those of what degree or quality soever, who live Sardanapalian lives, των ανδραποδων τροπω, as the philosopher hath it, not caring to understand ought beyond to *eat*, *drink* and *play*.

"And no wonder if the memory of such persons as these sink with their bodys into the earth, and lie buried in profound obscurity and oblivion; when even among those that tread the paths of glory and honour, those who have signaliz'd themselves either by great actions in the feild, or by noble arts of peace, or by the monuments of their written works more lasting sometimes then brass or marble; very many, but especially of the writing party, have fallen short of their deserved immortality of name, and lie under a total eclipse, or at least cast but a faint and glimmering light, like those innumerable seeds of stars in the galaxie, not distinctly to be discern'd by any telescope; and indeed there is an exact resemblance between the fate of writers, and the common fate of mankind; for as in human affairs some men never so vertuously, never so bravely acting, are pass't by unvalew'd, unrewarded, or at least not deserving ill fall by unhappy lot into unreasonable hands, and miseries far worse then death; others for no desert are hoisted up to honours, which of right belong not to them, or being guilty of things worthy utmost shame or punishments, yet scape the stroak of justice, and oft times with hoary heads go down to the grave in peace; some deserving well, meet with rewards suitable to their merits; others with contempt due to their no deserts, or if criminal with punishments proportionable to their crimes: so in the state of learning, among the writers of all ages; some deserve fame, and have it; others

neither have nor deserve it; some have it, not deserving; others though deserving, yet totally miss it, or have it not equal to their deserts.

"And these are the men who require our most peculiar consideration, and for whose sake chiefly it is that this design hath been undertaken; for though the personal calamities of poor wretched mortals are the *highest object* of human pity, yet methinks there is some thing of compassion due to extinguisht vertue, and the loss of many ingenuous, elaborate and useful works, and even the very names of some, who having perhaps been comparable to Homer for Heroic poesy, or to Euripides for tragedy, yet nevertheless sleep inglorious in the croud of the forgotten vulgar: and for as many of those names of writers, whether more or less eminent, as have been preserv'd from utter oblivion, together with an account for the most part of what they writ, all learned men, especially such as are curious of antiquity, are oblig'd to those generous registers, who have been studious to keep alive the memories of famous men, of whom it is at least some satisfaction, to understand that there were once such men or writings in being."

The following passage rather reminds me of the vein of the late William Cowper, the author of the Task, than of Milton.

"For cloths I leave them to the discretion of the modish, whether of our own or the French nation; breeches and doublet will not fall under a metaphysical consideration: But in arts and sciences, as well as in moral notions, I shall not scruple to maintain that what was *verum et bonum* once, con-

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tinues to be so always; now whether the trunck-hose fancy of queen Elizabeths days, or the pantaloon genius of ours be best, I shall not be hasty to determin, not presuming to call in question the judgment of the present age; only thus much I must needs see, that custom and opinion oft times take so deep a root, that judgment hath not free power to act."

The subsequent sentence is of that abortive kind, which Pope denominates "the simile unlike."

"They likewise very much erre from probability of circumstance, who go about to describe antient things after a modern model, which is an untruth, even in poetry itself, and so against all decorum, that it shows no otherwise then as if a man should read the antient history of the Persians or Egyptians to inform himself of the customs and manners of the modern Italians and Spaniards."

Here follows a period, which I think would never have been written by so fervent an admirer of the Gothic architecture as Milton was.

"So that whoever should desire to introduce some new kind of poem, of different fashion from any known to the antients, would do no more then he that should study to bring a new order into architecture, altogether different both from the Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Tuscan and Composite."

I have been the more full upon this Preface, thereby to settle the question whether or no it was the composition of Milton.

In the course of it the author thus introduces his now darling subject, the Paradise Lost.

"Though it cannot be deny'd, but that a poetical fancy is

much seen in the choise of verse proper to the chosen subject, yet however let the fashion of the vers be what it will, according to the different humour of the writer, if the style be elegant and suitable, the verse whatever it is, may be the better dispenc't with; and the truth is, the use of measure alone without any rime at all, would give far more ample scope and liberty both to style and fancy, then can possibly be observ'd in rime; as evidently appears from an English Heroic Poem, which came forth not many years ago, and from the style of Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and others of the Latins, which is so pure and proper, that it could not possibly have been better in prose."

The article of Milton in the body of the work stands thus, the author having sufficiently resumed his courage, in that memorable epoch of persecution and intolerance, the reign of Charles the Second, to dare even to allude to the *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano.*

"John Milton: the author (not to mention his other works, both in Latin and English, both in strict and solute oration, by which his fame is sufficiently known to all the learned of Europe) of two Heroic Poems and a Tragedy; namely Paradice lost, Paradice Regain'd, and Sampson Agonista; in which how far he hath reviv'd the majesty and true decorum of heroic poesy and tragedy, it will better become a person less related then my self, to deliver his judgement."

The article of John Philips deserves to be recited here, as being on two accounts connected with the subject of this volume. Like almost every thing else that proceeds from the

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pen of Edward Philips, it is stamped with an affectionate nature, and the marks of an upright and excellent disposition.

"John Philips: the maternal nephew and disciple of an author of most deserved fame late deceas't, being the exactest of Heroic Poets, (if the truth were well examin'd, and it is the opinion of many both learned and judicious persons) either of the ancients or moderns, either of our own or what ever nation else;[a] from whose education as he hath receiv'd a judicious command of style both in prose and verse, so from his own natural ingenuity he hath his vein of burlesque and facetious poetry, which produc't the Satyr against Hypocrites, and the Travested Metaphrase of Two Books of Virgil, besides what is dispeirc't among other things; nevertheless what he hath writ in a serious vein of poetry, whereof very little hath yet been made public, is in my opinion, nothing inferior to what he hath done in the other kind."

The character of Shakespear is quoted by Warton from the *Theatrum Poetarum*,[b] as an instance to prove that the finger of Milton was occasionally to be perceived in the construction of the work. To understand this, it will be necessary to recollect something of the history of Shakespear, and the reputation he bore among his contemporaries. It was the fortune of that age, the most learned that England can boast, that it produced two eminent rivals for the dramatic wreath, Shake-

[a] Winstanley, by confusing the construction of this sentence, has absurdly, in his Lives of the Poets, ascribed to the younger Philips, the applause which is here meant for Milton.

[b] Note on L'Allegro, verse 134.

spear and Jonson. Jonson was not only a man of extraordinary talents, by means of which he seems to have excelled all writers, ancient and modern, in some particulars of the dramatic art; but in addition to this he possessed great learning, and a head, so to express it, adapted to learning, qualifying him in that particular to take his seat on the bench with the great luminaries of the age. Shakespear was but superficially learned: well acquainted he was with the lighter and more elegant literature of his age; and for the rest he drew on his native genius, his observations of the human heart, and the peculiar and captivating medium through which all external objects seemed to reach his sensorium.

The contemporaries of these illustrious personages seem to have been puzzled in the contemplation of their various excellencies. They perhaps always felt that the dramas of Shakespear were calculated to produce the greatest delight, that they must fill every class of readers with extacy, and that they could never cease to please. But they quarrelled with their pleasure. They reproached themselves with their natural sensations; and pronounced in spite of what they felt, that Jonson was a higher style of man, and more worthy to be admired. It came to be a characteristic of the uneducated to side with Shakespear, and a proof of a genuine love of learning to prefer his rival. This may be illustrated from the well known epigrams, which of course must be considered as referring to this memorable contention. Jonson collected his dramatic pieces in 1616, and prefixed to them the title, "The Works of Benjamin Jonson." On this circumstance a sneering couplet was founded.

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" Pray, tell me, Ben, where does the mystery lurk?
What others call a Play, you call a Work."

To which this reply was immediately issued:

" The authors friend thus for the author says,
Bens Plays are Works, when others Works are Plays."

The first time Milton ever appeared in print was in a small copy of verses, prefixed to the second edition of the " Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies of Shakespear," in 1632; and notwithstanding the conceit which blemishes the last couplet of this piece, I think it will be found the first example of that style of thinking respecting the works of our great dramatist, which will become more and more prevalent the longer his writings shall endure. It is pleasing to observe this connection of the two great English poets; the first professional act of Milton's life, being to place his offering on the altar consecrated to the fame of Shakespear.

" What needs my Shakespear for his honoured bones
The labour of an age in piled stones?
Or that his hallowed reliques should be hid
Under a starre-ypointing pyramid?
Dear son of Memory! Great heire of Fame!
What needst thou such weak witnesse of thy name?
Thou in our wonder and astonishment
Hast built thy self a live-long monument.
For, whilst to th' shame of slow-endevouring Art
Thy easie numbers flow, and that each heart
Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued book
Those Delphicke lines with deep impression took,
Then thou, our Fancy of it selfe bereaving,
Dost make us Marble with too much conceiving,

And so Sepulchered, in such pompe dost lie,
That kings for such a Tombe would wish to die." [c]

It is singular that Edward Philips has to a certain degree expressed both these characters of Shakespear in his different writings. Adopting the hackneyed idea on the subject, he has this striking passage in his Mysteries of Love and Eloquence, among the Questions with their several Answers and Solutions.

" Q. One askt another what Shakespears Works were worth bound up together; the other replyed, not worth a farthing; not worth a farthing, said he that was to buy them, why so?

" A. The other answered, that his Playes were worth money, but he never heard that his Works were worth any thing."

I cannot be of opinion with Warton, that any sufficient justice is done to Shakespear in the *Theatrum Poetarum*; and I have always conceived that Milton blameably gave way to the prevailing notions in his L'Allegro, where he says,

" Then to the well-trod stage anon,
If Jonson's learned sock be on,
Or sweetest Shakespear, Fancy's child,
Warble his native wood-notes wild."

The following is the article in the *Theatrum Poetarum*.

" William Shakespear: the glory of the English stage: from

[c] There is another of the encomiastic copies of verses prefixed to the second folio, that well deserves to be singled out, in which a writer, signing himself I. M. S., speaks of the incomparable excellencies of our divine bard, in a style more worthy of his merits, and with more fervent enthusiasm, than any succeeding panegyrist of Shakespear has ever reached.—While I write, the question occurs to me, Is it possible that I. M. S. should be John Milton, senior?

CHAP. VIII. 1675. an actor of tragedies and comedies, he became a *Maker*; and such a Maker, that though some others may perhaps pretend to a more exact decorum and œconomie, especially in tragedy, never any express't a more lofty and tragic heighth; never any represented nature more purely to the life, and where the polishments of art are most wanting; as probably his learning was not extraordinary, he pleaseth with a certain wild and native elegance, &c."

The judgment here delivered, must be confessed to be not without a leaning to the sentiments of Shakespear's genuine admirers; but it has also an alloy of their creed, who were desirous of placing him among the *velites*, the light troops and skirmishers of the army of the Muses, or who wanted the courage openly to assign him that pre-eminence to which he is entitled. I am not of the opinion of Warton, that there needed the pen of a Milton, to write of our elder poet, in the ambiguous and irresolute style exhibited in the *Theatrum Poetarum*.

1676. As Edward Philips had been employed to write a continuation of sir Richard Baker's Chronicle, his brother John was at this time engaged to do the same office for the Chronicle of the Civil Wars, written by James Heath, the most foul-mouthed and scurrilous of all the royalists who have attempted to hand down to us the history of their own times. I have already said, that John Philips seems to omit no occasion of reflecting in an indirect manner upon the person and principles of his illustrious uncle: the task therefore now proposed, was no doubt exceedingly welcome to him.

In the book to which he officiated as editor, the author of

the *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, and of Paradise Lost, is spoken of in these terms. CHAP. VIII. 1676.

"A. D. 1649. To better also the condition of the king our soveraign, Charles the Second, as to his kingdoms, came forth several defences of his authority in several treatises, especially that of Salmasius called the Royal Defence (which one Milton, since stricken with blindness, cavilled at, who wrote also against that incomparable book and remains of king Charles the Martyr, about this time produced to light, though endeavoured by all means to be suppress, called Eikon Basilike, in an impudent and blasphemous libel, called Iconoclastes, since deservedly burnt by the common executioner) doth justly challenge to be here registred."

John Philips introduces the Brief Account of Memorable Transactions from 1662 to 1675, which he has subjoined to Heath's Chronicle in these words. "There is a justice due to the memory of actions, as well as to the memory of men; and therefore since the times of usurpation have had the favour done them, as to have the transactions of those years publikely recorded, though to the shame of those times, that had nothing but enormity to signalize 'em; with more justice may we assay to take a short view of those great and noble actions, perform'd in the succeeding years." And in the Conclusion he again expresses his sentiments in these words. "And thus you have an account in brief of all the most memorable transactions, since the greatest act of Providence that has been observed for many ages, The happy Restauration of his majesty."

It is a little singular, that in the first year of these annals,

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John Philips had to record the death of Bishop Bramhal, a prelate whom he had arraigned with the utmost asperity, in his first juvenile production, the *Responsio ad Apologiam cujusdam Anonymi*, under the suspicion of his being the author of the *Apologia*. Bramhal is here spoken of in these terms: "The same month died the learned and most reverend prelate Dr. Bramhal; of whom it is enough to say, that he was the beloved darling of those two renowned patriots, archbishop Laud, and the earl of Strafford."

In the following passage the writer finds an opportunity at once of displaying the baseness of his general principles, and of secretly referring with applause to a legal censure that had been passed upon Milton. "Nor can we omit the punishment of a criminal book, long after the author's decease. For with the same justice may books, as well as men, be executed for treason. And therefore long after his death, about the beginning of May, was Mr. George Buchanans book, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, call'd in and suppress'd, by an act of parliament of that kingdom."[d]

The subsequent sentence deserves to be transcribed, as containing the evidence of a witness above suspicion, to the political character of the early times of Charles the Second. "Accordingly, his majesty sign'd several private, and some few publick acts; among the rest, An Act to prevent and suppress Seditious Conventicles [meetings of the non-conformists for public worship]; which though it occasion'd great trouble to the magistrates of the several counties, yet it made appa-

[d] Anno 1664.

rent their faithful care, and loyalty to his majesties service; so that indeed *it was the whole employment of this year*, to apprehend and try the daily offenders against this statute."*

In the same year Edward Philips was engaged in a useful and honourable work, a reprint of Speed's "Theatre of Great Britain." The author of this book belongs to the catalogue of those worthies, whose names reflect lustre on the noblest period of the English language and English mind, the age of Elizabeth. By his original profession, like Stow, he was a tailor; but, like him, his impulses led him into a wider field, and engaged him in the pursuit of objects of more permanent value. The annals of our country are deeply indebted to the unwearied labours of these men. There was nothing very brilliant and glittering in the occupation of their choice; the raking into musty records, and slowly gleaning up information for the instruction of their countrymen: and they persisted in it, not to accumulate wealth, but amidst innumerable discouragements. Stow was at length rewarded in his old age by king James, with a patent to have a *brief of his necessitous condition read in churches*, calling on the tender-hearted to contribute to support him in his declining years.

Speed was engaged in the execution of two considerable works, one a History of Great Britain from Julius Cæsar to James the First, and the other the geographical work which gives occasion for our mentioning him here. The title of the latter at full length is, "The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain, presenting an Exact Geography of the Kingdoms of

* Anno 1664.

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England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Principality of Wales: together with A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World, Asia, Africa, Europe, and America, with these Empires and Kingdoms therein contained, *viz.*, &c." This work is printed in the largest folio, and consists principally of maps, with the letter-press of the compiler put on the back of the maps. They represent in the first place the several counties of England, and the English dominions, and then the principal empires and kingdoms of the other portions of the globe. They are executed chiefly by Hondius, a Fleming, and a celebrated map-engraver, and have great merit; but their principal merit must necessarily have originated with Speed. He consumed successive years in bringing his performance to completeness, the first edition of which appeared in 1611. He had published a part of it a few years before, under the modest title of "Maps of England."

A new edition of this book being now called for, Edward Philips, the then well known Continuator of Baker's Chronicle, was applied to, to bestow on it such improvements as the altered state of things, in a period of sixty-five years, might require. The title-page informs us, that "In this New Edition are added: In the Theatre of Great Britain, the Principal Roads, the Market-Towns wanting in the former impressions, a Continuation of the [dates of] Battels fought in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, the Arms of the Dukes and Earls in each county, whose titles of honour were wanting, and the Description of his Majesties Dominions abroad, with Maps of New England, New York, Carolina, Florida, Virginia, Maryland, Jamaica, and Barbadoes: Like-

wise, In the Prospect of the World, the Empire of the Great Mogul, with the rest of the East Indies, Palestine, or the Holy Land, and the Empire of Russia." The work is dedicated by the editor, to sir Joseph Sheldon, lord-mayor of London in the year 1675, with the aldermen and sheriffs of the metropolis. CHAP. VIII. 1676.

In the following year John Philips gave to the public two translations from the French romances at that time in vogue, that of Almahide, and that of Pharamond. It has seldom happened perhaps to any man to give a fuller specimen of literary industry in the course of one year; Almahide consisting of 675 folio pages, closely printed, in double columns; and Pharamond of no less than 1173. So that here were five folio pages to be every day translated, written, and revised for the press, and in the press, even on the supposition that the translator took no interval to himself for Sunday or holiday, and that he was never for a single day interrupted by idleness, amusement, or indisposition. 1677.

The following is the account given by Boileau of these singular productions of this period of literature in France. "M. d'Urfé, a man of great quality in the Lyonnese, and extremely susceptible of the passion of love, having written a great number of verses, addressed to the different ladies to whom he made his court, and passed through a vast variety of adventures in love, conceived the idea of digesting all these into a book. He pretended, that in the times of the kings of the First Race, a multitude of shepherds and shepherdesses, sufficiently at their ease in point of fortune, formed a determination to feed their flocks, themselves in person, in the fruitful plains of Auvergne, not compelled by any necessity, but for

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the amusement they found in this species of occupation. Leisure followed of course; and love sprang forth, the child of leisure. D'Urfé introduced into his work all his own love-adventures, and even those of some of his friends; and though the verses had no great merit, there was an ingenuity in the way in which the tissue was woven, that generally pleased. The style was florid and animated, and the characters imagined with skill, and admirably diversified and sustained. The romance, called Astrea from the principal female character, had in short the greatest success, and even obtained the favourable suffrage of readers of the purest and the justest judgment. The first volume appeared in 1610, and four more in regular succession.

"The popularity of this publication gave rise to many imitations. Tales were rapidly produced consisting of ten or twelve bulky volumes apiece. The most popular were those of Gomberville, Calprenede, Desmarais and Scuderi. But, endeavouring to improve upon their original, and to elevate their characters, these writers fell into the most inconceivable puerility. They took for their heroes princes and kings, and even the most famous captains of antiquity, putting into their mouths the language and sentiments, which D'Urfé had previously attributed to his Celadons and Silvanders: so that, while the Astrea raised vacant and unambitious shepherds into considerable characters, its imitators on the contrary turned the noblest personages of antiquity into shepherds, nay, sometimes supplied them with modes of speaking fit only for citizens and common-council-men. The world however ran mad after these absurdities. Above all, the most admired

were the Grand Cyrus and the Clelia of madame de Scuderi, in the first of which the founder of the Persian monarchy refuses to admit any thoughts but those of love, and in the latter Brutus, Horatius Cocles, Mutius Scævola and Lucretia are introduced, engaged in drawing maps of the island of Tenderness, divided into the three regions of Tenderness founded upon Esteem, upon Gratitude, and upon Invincible Impulse, no one of which can be approached but by surprising the bastions and flankers of Incessant Attentions."[f] CHAP. VIII. 1677.

These productions are by so much the more essentially entitled to be considered in the history of modern literature, as Corneille and Racine, the two great pillars of the French theatre, formed themselves in different ways upon the model of Scuderi and Calprenede. The English stage, in the time of Charles the Second, and for very long after, took the same direction: and it became a serious debate among the critics, whether a tragedy could be justly sustained, that was not founded in some degree on the passion of love; in other words, whether any struggles and agitations of the human heart, or any sublunary calamities that man is heir to, were worthy to occupy the poet, except the sentiments that occasionally rage in the bosom of a young man and a maid on the threshold of life. The most ridiculous example of this perhaps is to be found in the love-scenes in the tragedy of Cato.

The Almahide, written by Scuderi, and translated by John Philips, is the foundation of the Conquest of Granada, in Two Parts, the most vigorous of the tragedies of Dryden.

[f] Les Héros de Roman, Dialogue.

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These two translations John Philips has inscribed, Almahide to Thomas Thynne, Esquire, commonly called by his contemporaries Tom of Ten Thousand, and Pharamond to Elizabeth, daughter of the celebrated duke of Newcastle, and wife to Christopher second duke of Albemarle. In the former of these dedications he speaks of himself, as having learned "from experience the generosity" of the opulent commoner.

The dedication to the duchess of Albemarle breathes the same enthusiastic admiration of the unparalleled event of the Restoration, as John Philips had displayed in the Continuation of Heath's Chronicle in the preceding year, and is marked with that servile and oriental spirit of adulation, with which about this time Dryden so signally disgraced himself. "Pharamond," says the translator, "introduced into England, like Æneas into Carthage, instead of meeting his own adventures, is treated by your grace with a more glorious story: Here he views a bleeding nation, and the intestine wounds of a long civil war; and there he sees the loyal and valiant Newcastle, plung'd in the torrent, and stemming an impetuous tide to save a sinking kingdom.—However, no sooner are his eyes diverted from the tragick object of a martyred monarch and a ruined state, but straight the next prospect surprises him with a more beautiful scene. He admires the dazling lustre of a northern star [general Monk, commander in chief of the republican army in Scotland, and afterward duke of Albemarle], by whose sudden and no less miraculous influence, appears the resurrection of loyalty, peace and liberty, the transports of a deliver'd nation, and the restoration of an exiled king.—He would fain flatter himself by resembling his heroine to the

duchess of Albemarle; did he not know your perfections to be above a character, as your example is above imitation; since such divine qualifications as your grace's cannot proceed from a less fountain, or a greater then your own [therefore not from God]. The universal adoration whereof is that which gives me the presumption to stile myself, &c."

But we have not done with the prolific pen of John Philips for this very year 1677. In Michaelmas Term he further published in folio, a translation of "The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, through Turkey, into Persia and the East Indies, finished in the Year 1670." This volume consists of 586 folio pages, scarcely less crowded than those of Almahide and Pharamond.

The proportion of interval between these publicationsma y be very nearly calculated, on the information to be derived from Clavel's "Catalogue of Books Printed and Published in London," which was at this time regularly brought out at the periods of the Four Law Terms. Almahide is announced as published, in the Catalogue for Hilary Term, Pharamond in that for Trinity, and Tavernier for Michaelmas; and the Catalogues are dated February 12, July 5, and November 26, respectively: so that each of these books may be inferred to have been completed by their laborious translator in a period of between four and five months.—To the translation of Tavernier are prefixed two dedications, one to sir Thomas Davies, lord-mayor of London, and the other to "the most accomplish'd and eminently learned Dr. Daniel Cox, Doctor of Physick."

At the end of the translation of Tavernier there is printed,

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"A Description of all the Kingdoms which encompass the Euxine and Caspian Seas. By an English Traveller. Never before Published." This supplement amounts to no more than thirteen pages: but the thing most to our purpose to notice concerning it, is a "Preface, containing several Remarkable Observations concerning Divers of the Fore-mentioned Countries," and consisting of six crowded pages. In this Preface, the Publisher [John Philips] informs us that the "ensuing narration was put into his hands five or six years before, by a very intelligent, worthy person, who long resided in the same family with M. Tavernier, and who assured the publisher, that the discourse here given was written with his own hand," being an account of such things as had occurred to him in his travels. The editor proceeds to observe, that, "by reason of this gentleman's long absence from his native country, and disuse of his mother-tongue, his style was so rough, odd, and unpleasant, that I was forced to make therein great alterations, both as to method and expression, yet keeping strictly unto his sense."

Having said enough by way of introducing this supplementary narrative, John Philips proceeds through the remainder of his Preface to unfold with great care the various revolutions that had been sustained by the city of Astracan, and the rise, and first enterprises and adventures of the Turkish nation. In this discourse he quotes very plentifully the Oriental and Arabic writers, to the amount of no less than twenty different authors, and betrays no want of ample information on the subject he undertakes to discuss. At length he winds up the whole with remarking, Such is the outline of the various

emigrations and vicissitudes of these tribes, "as I shall hereafter more clearly and fully demonstrate in a Discourse which I have long ago written, and may speedily publish, concerning the beginnings and progress of the Turkish and Tartarian nations and empires." CHAP. VIII. 1677.

All this certainly tends to place the talents and activity of John Philips in a striking point of view. It is no small thing for a man to have translated three such immense folios in the space of little more than a year. Such a task must have demanded a portion of health, undiminished spirits, and unintermitting resolution, such as seldom falls to the lot of mortals. But the Preface here quoted, and the Discourse alluded to in it, cannot but greatly enhance the respect with which we consider the translator. I cannot withhold a very liberal portion of praise from the man, who having undertaken the task of a giant, performs it with a giant's pertinaciousness and energy. But it is with a widely different feeling, that I contemplate the man, who having undertaken no task, and being imposed on by no necessity, performs a great literary labour for the pure love of the occupation in which he is engaged. Literature is a liberal profession; and it must give some pain to an ingenuous mind, to see the man who exercises it, put upon a level with the husbandman and the artificer, paid for his work at so much *per* sheet, and hastening to the end of his daily labour, that he may have wherewith to sustain himself and his children. John Philips, in these three ponderous translations, belongs in some degree to the class of a bookseller's drudge: all the work he performs, however useful it may happen to be to others, may have been performed by him

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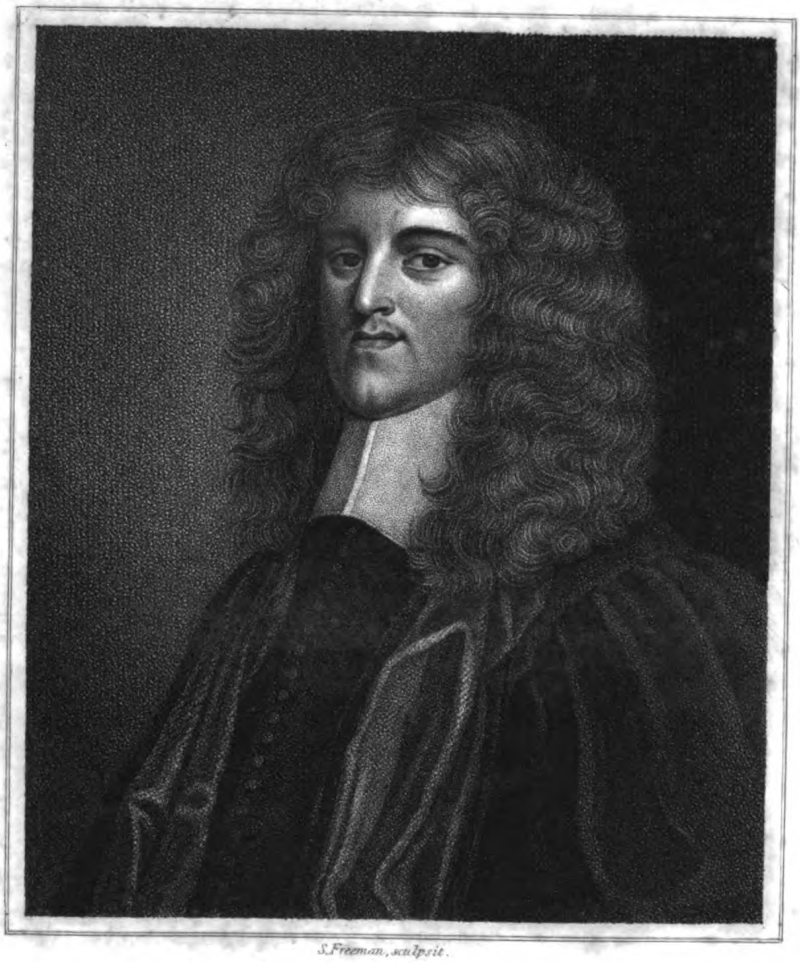
without inclination, and with an absent and averted mind: but the moment he tells us of the "Discourse which had occupied much of his thoughts, concerning the beginnings and progress of nations, written long ago, and which may hereafter be published," we confess in him an ingenuous curiosity, and a substantial love of knowledge, that principle, which, where it subsists in an eminent degree, forms perhaps beyond any thing else, the great line of demarcation between the two races or casts of mankind, those that, like cattle, nature has made prone, and obedient only to the appetites of the body, and those who have that within them which they hold in common with the divine essence, who seek that by which the mind, and not the corporeal senses, is to be gratified, and live not so much by the gross food that sustains our animal frame, as by the pure spirit that stirs the soul, and imparts to the thinking principle in man vigour and exultation.—However coarse in certain respects was the mind of John Philips, I feel it impossible to withhold from him this portion of applause.



S. Freeman, sculpsit.

Titus Oates.

from a Rare Print

in the Possession of James Bindley Esqr.

Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, London, April 1815.

CHAPTER IX.

JOHN PHILIPS TURNS WHIG.—CONNECTION BETWEEN HIM AND TITUS OATES.—HISTORY OF THE POPISH PLOT.—CHARACTER OF SHAFTESBURY.—SHAFTESBURY AND BUCKINGHAM EMPLOYED TO TAKE EXAMINATIONS.—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE SUPPOSED CRIMINALS.—SHAFTESBURY PLANS THE DIVORCE OF CHARLES THE SECOND.—BILL OF EXCLUSION.—*OATES'S NARRATIVE VINDICATED.*—TRIAL OF COLLEGE.—FIRMNESS OF OATES.—INDICTMENT AGAINST SHAFTESBURY.—*ABSALOM AND ACHITOPHEL.*—*SECOND PART OF THE CHARACTER OF A POPISH SUCCESSOR.*—*SPECULUM CRAPE-GOWNORUM.*—SCHOOL-BOOKS WRITTEN BY EDWARD PHILIPS.—HIS EMBARRASSMENTS.—TRANSLATIONS BY BOTH THE BROTHERS.

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I HAD hoped to have been excused the remainder of this story, so far as John Philips is concerned. I found indeed in the enumeration of the writings of this author, in Wood, a "Vindication of Titus Oates," and a "Second Part of the Character of a Popish Successor." But, knowing that Wood was an authority not always to be depended on in ascribing a book to its right author, I strongly inclined to the thinking him erroneous here. This ought not to be understood in great disparagement to Wood. He was often obliged to take general rumour and report for evidence. When we consider the extreme copiousness of his inestimable collections, we

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shall rather be surprised to find him so generally right, than that he was sometimes wrong.[a]

[a] The following is perhaps not to be classed among the inaccuracies of Wood; but it affords so memorable an example of the senselessness of modern criticism, and the folly of what is called history, that I cannot persuade myself to pass it over in silence.

Wood says in his article of Villiers duke of Buckingham, author of the Rehearsal, "Whereas the generality of people think that Mr. Dryden was bastinado'd for the character of Zimri in Absalom and Achitophel, by the endeavours of the duke, [this] is false. Howsoever, sure I am that the duke of Bucks did not cause him to be beaten, but wrote, or caus'd to be wrote, Reflections on the said poem."

On the foundation of this passage, Mr. Malone, and Mr. Walter Scott, the biographers of Dryden, have built an extraordinary superstructure. They have discovered a pamphlet, published immediately after Absalom and Achitophel, and entitled, "Poetical Reflections" on Dryden's performance, "by a person of honour;" and having diligently perused it, proceed in their deductions after this rate.

Mr. Malone transcribes twenty lines from the Poetical Reflections,* and then winds up his extract with the following remark. "At this rate his grace proceeds through ten folio pages, containing three hundred and fifteen lines."† And afterward, "Buckingham's poem in answer to Absalom and Achitophel, a piece utterly devoid of merit of any kind, furnishes us with a strong confirmation of the received opinion that he was aided by others in writing the Rehearsal."‡

Mr. Walter Scott treads in the steps of his predecessor, and gives a still more copious extract from the Poetical Reflections, concluding, "As these verses were written on an occasion, when personal indignation must have fired his grace's wit, they incline us to believe, with Mr. Malone, that his friends, Clifford and Sprat, have the greatest share in the lively farce of the Rehearsal."§

Struck with the extraordinary nature of these decisions, I could not be content without obtaining a sight of the Poetical Reflections; and I, like these critics, have diligently perused them. Certainly a more senseless production never issued from any press; and the author will be pronounced by any equitable tribunal to be incapable of putting together two lines of common English. That public curiosity may be fully glutted on the subject of this delectable work, I also will give an extract, avoiding

* Life of Dryden, p. 9, 37. † Ibid., p. 37. ‡ Ibid., p. 95.
§ Notes on Absalom and Achitophel; note 18.

In the present case however, I was rather disposed to prefer the internal evidence of the question, to the affirmation of CHAP. IX.

those that have been already printed by Mr. Walter Scott and Mr. Malone. In the Reflector's character of Shaftesbury, the following lines occur.

> " The doctor," [perhaps Oates: but I tremble at my own audacity in attempting to explain what is utterly void of meaning.]
> " Who, with some motley lawyers, took much care
> To gain the *Caput* of this knowing peer;
> When after so much noise, and nothing prov'd,
> Heaven thank'd, to freedom he's at last remov'd,
> Leaving a low-bridge Cerberus to try
> In what clerks pate his monstrous fee does lie."

The following are the writer's sage reflections on Adriel [earl of Mulgrave], and Jotham [marquis of Halifax].

> ——" much like Hudibras, on wits pretence,
> Some lines for rhyme, and some to gingle sense.
> Who else would Adriel, Jotham, Hushai * fit,
> With loathed Amiel,† for a court of wit?
> For, as men squares of circles hardly find,
> Some think these measures are as odly joyn'd.
> What else could Adriel's sharpness more abuse,
> Than headlong dubb'd, to own himself a muse,
> Unless to spread poetick honours so,
> As should a muse give each St George's show?—
> Next, as in course, to Jotham we'll descend,
> Thoughtful it seems which side he'll next befriend,
> As thinking brains can caper to and fro,
> Before they jump into the box they'd go."

But enough, and too much, of such loathsome nonsense.

What sort of a thing shall history, and especially literary history, be deemed, if such decisions as these of Mr. Malone and Mr. Walter Scott are to be taken as specimens of it? I have no attachment, no man has any attachment, to the personal character of

* Hyde, earl of Rochester.
† Seymour, speaker of the house of commons.

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Antony Wood. From the year 1655 to 1675, John Philips had always appeared in the character of a strenuous royalist

Buckingham, author of the Rehearsal: but the passages I have quoted from the biographers of Dryden, are an attack upon a whole age, and upon the whole English nation as existing in that age.

George duke of Buckingham was one of the darling ornaments of the court and reign of Charles the Second. A wit himself of the first order, as his contemporaries believed, he claimed, and was admitted, to give laws to wit. The following account is taken, partly from the Key to the Rehearsal, and partly from the Life of the Author, prefixed to his works.

"The stage, though not near so lewd then as it has become since, had been silenced by the civil wars, for almost twenty years: But at this period [the Restoration], the tyranny of rebellion and enthusiasm being removed, the buskin again made its appearance. But the universal joy and exultation with which all ranks seemed intoxicated upon the wished-for change, assisted by the many bad customs imported by the exiles from foreign countries, soon spread as universal a dissolution of manners and corruption of morals over the nation. The stage could not well escape the contagion: a number of lewd, senseless and unnatural plays were introduced upon it, and met with high encouragement; such as the Siege of Rhodes, the Playhouse to Let, the Slighted Maid, the United Kingdoms, the Wild Gallant, the English Monsieur, the Villain, and the like.

"The duke of Buckingham, to manifest his just indignation and hatred of this fulsome, new way of writing, used his utmost interest and endeavours to stifle it at its first appearance on the stage, by engaging all his friends to explode and run down these plays. In pursuing this conduct towards one, the United Kingdoms, he brought his life in danger: for the author of it being nobly born, of an ancient and numerous family, had many of his friends and relations in the cock-pit during the acting of it; and some of them perceiving his grace heading a party who were very active in damning the play, by hissing and laughing immoderately at the strange conduct of it, some persons were laid in wait for him as he came out, but luckily he escaped through the crowd. He was afterwards threatened hard for it, till the business was made up.

"Soon after this the duke set about writing the Rehearsal, in order to expose these new-fashioned plays in their proper colours, and set them in so clear a light, that the people might be able to discover what trash it was whereof they were so fond. This play has indeed always been held in very great repute, and esteemed a piece of the most poignant ridicule and entertaining banter that this island has yet produced."

and courtier. I knew him to be utterly free from the re- CHAP. IX.
straints of a religious conscience. I saw that as long as his

Very far indeed were his contemporaries, and those authors who were supposed most successfully to have delineated his character, from suspecting him of being the idiot, which Mr. Malone, and Mr. Walter Scott have ascertained him to be. Dryden, whom he finally reserved for the hero, the laughing-stock, of his Rehearsal, and who in that had received the severest affront that could be put upon a man looking forward to the admiration of posterity, commences his character in Absalom and Achitophel in the following lines.

" A man so various, that he seemed to be
Not one, but all mankind's epitome.
Stiff in opinion, always in the wrong,
Was every thing by turns, and nothing long."

Surely this is the description of a man of eminent talents, however perverted he might be in his conduct. Pope, who lived near enough to the time of the author of the Rehearsal, to have heard many accounts of him from those who knew him best, represents him,

" Gallant and gay, in Cliveden's proud alcove,
The bower of wanton Shrewsbury and Love;
Or just as gay, at council, in a ring
Of mimic statesmen, and their merry king."

Certainly the biographers of Dryden have not in this instance shown themselves possessed of any exquisite subtlety in gauging the various dimensions of human intellect. It is easy to perceive that the author of the Poetical Reflections was that sort of "person of honour," to whose insupportable prosing his acquaintance had listened for twenty years together,

" With sad civility and aching head,"

who every now and then made a desperate plunge at a meaning, and, when he believed he had caught it, and chuckled with complacency at the glories of his achievement, his companions nodded assent with a vacant smile, chusing any alternative rather than to enquire for the sense which was not his to give. And this poor empty and idiot scull these critics would palm upon us for Buckingham! Well may we exclaim with Hamlet, " And this same scull, sir, was Yorick's scull, the king's jester! Here hung those

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uncle lived, he had an evident pleasure in insulting every thing that Milton held most dear and most sacred. What

lips, that I have kissed I know not how oft! Where be your gibes now? your gambols? your songs? your flashes of merriment that were wont to set the table in a roar?" This is a *caput mortuum* indeed!

A further obvious and established way of judging in a case of this sort, is to compare the piece attributed to the author with his acknowledged and unquestionable writings. We will not mention the Rehearsal:—

"With some, all authors steal their works, or buy;
Garth did not write his own Dispensary."

There are two volumes of the Works of Villiers Duke of Buckingham. Compare the Poetical Reflections by a Person of Honour, with such of these as are certainly his. Take his Conference with Father Fitzgerald, from which Swift caught the first hint of his Tale of a Tub; take his Letter to Clifford on Human Reason; take his Speech on the supposed dissolution of parliament in 1677. I grant that none of these absolutely equal the reputation of that wit, which Rochester and Charles the Second, once admitted for good judges, held in so much estimation. But have they any thing of the ineffable stupidity and senseless floundering of the Poetical Reflections? Far from it: they are all stamped with great shrewdness of mind, clearness of apprehension, and perspicuity of language.

I have said that the cause which misled the biographers of Dryden is not perhaps to be classed among the inaccuracies of Wood. But suppose Wood had expressly affirmed what these gentlemen imagine him to have affirmed; what would that amount to? Wood's book, as to his contemporaries, is a mere collection of hearsays, for the most part right, very often wrong.

In a collection of State Poems* lying before me, there is a piece expressly attributed to Milton, in which among many choice passages is this hemistich.

"Noah be damn'd."

If I were to imitate the conduct of the biographers of Dryden, I should first gravely quote the State Poems as an authority for this fact, and then, setting aside all the author's acknowledged productions, infer from it the cast of Milton's genius and religious

* Poems on Affairs of State, from Cromwel to the Revolution, 1697.

probability was there, that he should be found waiting as it were the signal of Milton's death, to join the party of the discontented, such as they were, and cooperate with them in the views which many of them entertained, of bringing the commonwealth back again?—I will first give an outline of the scene in which Titus Oates made so memorable a figure, and then proceed to confirm the statement of Wood, as to the part which John Philips acted on the occasion.

The reign of Charles the Second is certainly the most infamous in the British annals. Its character was begun by Clarendon, dark and bigoted, endowed with the spirit of a high priest, and, which is perhaps singular, indifferent at the same time even to plausibility in his means, and to every sentiment of honour and fidelity in the engagements to which he pledged himself and his master. He considered it as the great object of his administration to cut off the possibility of a second rebellion; and so narrow were his views, that he judged the per-

temper, and conclude with assuring the public that he had a very slender share, if any, in the composition of the Paradise Lost.

But the case of the biographers of Dryden does not stand so well as this. What Wood says on the subject is, that the duke of Buckingham "wrote, or caus'd to be wrote [this distinction is not unworthy of notice], Reflections on the Poem of Absalom and Achitophel." It is very probable that this statement is altogether false. Wood however does not tell us whether these Reflections were in verse or prose: he does however tell us expressly that they were "printed in a sheet of paper." And, starting from this averment, Mr. Malone first, and after Mr. Walter Scott, finding a pamphlet of ten folio pages, beside three more folio leaves of title and preface, entitled, "Poetical Reflections upon *Absolon* and Achitophel, by a Person of Honour," proceed immediately to ascribe this to the author of the Rehearsal, and to regulate his literary and intellectual character accordingly. Who else, said they, could be a "Person of Honour," but the duke of Buckingham?

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secuting and trampling upon a hostile party, to be the surest way to deprive it of its courage and its sting. Meanwhile, such was the fate of Clarendon, that the inflexible gravity of his manner, and the measured prolixity of his discourse, when contrasted with the versatile inconsistencies of the "skipping, dancing, worthless tribe" by which his master was constantly surrounded, served him for character, and have handed him down in the unconsidered verdict of vulgar fame, as one in the band of England's noblest patriots.

The second feature of Charles's reign, and a viler can scarcely be conceived, was the selling himself for a wretched pension to perform all the pleasure of Louis the Fourteenth. The first fruits of this engagement, was the war commenced in 1672 for the destruction of the independence of Holland, and for offering all the resources of that celebrated republic as a sacrifice at the shrine of Gallic ambition.

A reign, the earlier part of which was filled with these enormities, has its history properly consummated by a long series of fabricated plots, of which that of Titus Oates is the most conspicuous; by the laying aside of parliaments, which met no more for the last four years of Charles's reign; and by the legal murders of lord Russel and Algernon Sydney. These successive profligacies are crowded into a space of less than twenty-five years.

To colour their unrelenting prosecution of the nonconformists, the ministers of Charles the Second had been in the habit of denominating the meetings of conscientious men for the purposes of religious worship "seditious conventicles;" and to justify this appellation, they had constructed a variety of

plots, and suborned witnesses to support them. These are now all swept away into almost impenetrable oblivion. But they had memorable consequences, and at length gave birth to a terrible retaliation to plague their inventors. They had relaxed all the sentiments of veracity and moral obligation, and now occasioned a scene in the highest degree disgraceful to the nation in which it was acted.

James duke of York, the only surviving brother to the king, and the presumptive heir to his crown, was a professed Catholic; and not merely that, but a man of a narrow mind, a gloomy and saturnine temper, and scarcely susceptible of those human affections, by means of which only religion can be moulded into a principle beneficent and lovely. He was in the stronger sex a striking counterpart to Queen Mary Tudor. From a person of a more enlarged frame of soul, perhaps much serious mischief was not to be apprehended, as a consequence of the unpopular faith which James had embraced. But our ancestors in the seventeenth century lived too near to the times of papal persecution, to be able in any case to contemplate such a circumstance with a dispassionate and unapprehensive mind.

It was in this state of public feeling, that the profligate Oates, and his credulous coadjutor, Dr. Ezrael Tonge, came forward with their execrable tale. Oates had been fitted out by this man, on a voyage of discovery, to ascertain whether a plot which he had read of, as contrived forty years before among the Jesuits, to exterminate the king and the royal family of England, was still in being. That he might gain the proper intelligence, Oates was to feign that he was a convert

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to the Catholic religion, and desirous of being admitted as a novice into this learned body. He accordingly resided six months in their college at St. Omers.

It was a choice implement certainly that was employed by the learned divine on this business. Perhaps according to the doctor's code of morality, the docility Oates was to personate to the Jesuits' instructions, and the reverent and filial demonstrations by which only he could hope to obtain their confidence, were to be regarded as venial deviations, in pursuit of so momentous an object. We can hardly suppose that the doctor extended his prudence so far, as to calculate that a consummate villain only could be qualified to bring home the precious truths of which he was in search. Such however was this memorable Protestant missionary. He had been brought up to the profession of the church, had at one time been the object of an indictment for perjury, and at another had been dismissed from his situation as chaplain on board the fleet, on a charge of unnatural practices. With a blasted character, he was at the time Dr. Tonge took him up, sunk in the deepest penury,

> "One whom distress had spited with the world,
> Quoted, and signed, to do a deed of shame."

Oates in his residence at St. Omers had found nothing; and he brought home every thing. He was too expert a gamester, not to know that all his success depended on a tragic report, and that if he expected to live well and fare sumptuously, he must tell of horrible undertakings, and scare away the senses of men by monstrous forebodings. In the first place he brought over a plot for assassinating Poole, the author of five ponde-

rous volumes, entitled *Synopsis Criticorum*, and Dr. Tonge for having translated a book, called the Morals of the Jesuits. In the next place, sentence of death was decreed against the king; and the duke of York was involved in the same fate, unless he would declare his approbation of his brother's murder, and would implicitly confide all the powers of government in the hands of men, already named by the Fathers for the different offices of state. CHAP. IX. 1678.

Oates and his employer were so obscure, that it seemed for some time probable that the venom of their scheme would be crushed by the mere operation of neglect. Letters written to the prime minister, and even a memorial put into the king's hand as he walked in St. James's Park, were passed by in silence. The rumour however reached the ear of the duke of York; and, understanding that his secretary and other of his personal servants were implicated in the charge, he gallantly, but most unfortunately, insisted that it should receive an accurate investigation. The whole was accordingly laid before the privy council. Oates was aware of the dangerous ground on which he stood; and had taken the precaution, at the same time that he gave in his narrative to the king and his ministers by whom it might be suppressed, regularly to attest the particulars before sir Edmundbury Godfrey, an acting magistrate for the county of Middlesex. Godfrey could not refuse to take Oates's deposition, but at the same time made light of it, and even gave a friendly intimation to Coleman, the duke's secretary, of what was in agitation against him. Meanwhile Godfrey was a man of a melancholy and desponding

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temper of mind; and when, some weeks after, he found the affair seriously canvassed before the privy council, and that new warrants of arrest were daily issued against the Jesuits, he was haunted with the idea that he should be called to a severe account under a charge of misprision of treason. Just at this time he became missing from his house; and his body was found some days after, thrust through with his own sword, under a hedge, in the fields between Hampstead and London.

Such was the singular combination of circumstances that fixed the fortune of the Popish Plot. Though the most rigorous searches were made, nothing could be found against the persons accused. A civil war was pretended to be on the eve of breaking out; and no arms, no funds for the carrying on of hostilities, had been discovered. Commissions, civil and military, were said to be dispersed in various quarters; and by no surprise had any one of these commissions been brought to light. Of the many conspirators pretended to be engaged, there was none, that the hope of gain, or the fear of death, could induce to desert his comrades, and lay open the mystery beyond the power of refutation. Coleman's letters indeed, which had fallen into the hands of the persons employed to apprehend him, were filled with an indiscreet zeal, and indicated the most sanguine hopes of the final predominance of his party, by means of the duke of York; but their very frankness was evidence to an unprejudiced mind, that they contained all he knew, and that nothing remained behind untold. But the death of Godfrey supplied the place of every evidence to the bigoted and hot-headed vulgar. Beyond a doubt he

was murdered by the Papists, in revenge for his having taken the depositions of the plot; and every man seemed to apprehend that his own throat would be the next assailed.

Unfortunately it was just at this time that parliament met pursuant to its adjournment. Oct. 12. The king, however pernicious were the defects of his character in other respects, was by no means deficient in judgment, whenever he thought proper to exercise it. He considered the tale of the Popish plot as a dangerous implement, and was wholly unwilling to take any step that should give it notoriety or currency. But he was unhappily of too easy and indolent a temper, to be able to conduct himself firmly by the dictates of his own understanding. His brother insisted upon measures being taken to clear his own personal dependents of the scandalous imputations brought against them, and the king allowed the matter to be laid before the privy council. He determined however to confine the investigation to the courts of law. There it seemed as if a certain credibility of evidence would be demanded for the conviction of the accused; and, the courts of law of Charles the Second being accustomed to bend to the will of the government, the king believed that he should be able to guide the affair as he pleased. The parliament however was no sooner assembled, than the earl of Danby, the prime minister, in direct opposition to his master's instructions, brought the question before that body.

The high tide of popular approbation with which the monarchy had been restored, was long since subsided; the measures of the court were such as could give no one content; and in the midst of the alienation that prevailed, there was

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nothing that served so obviously to feed the spirit of opposition, as the avowed adherence of the duke of York, the presumptive heir to the crown, to the church of Rome. The minister thought that he had now the means to disarm the opposition, and to restore the king to the love of his people, by publishing the story of the plot, and demonstrating that the life of the sovereign and his government were attacked by machinations of the Jesuits. The king knew much better than this. Danby had no sooner taken so imprudent a step, than the king told him, "You have done that, which will ruin yourself, and overturn all my affairs;" and the sequel proved that the king was in the right. The parliament took up the question with all the fervency of religious zeal; the demagogues seized the guidance of the investigation into their own hands; and for two years the executive government was reduced to a cipher.

Dismal was the scene that followed upon these beginnings. A reward was offered of five hundred pounds to any one who would divulge the particulars of Godfrey's murder; and a villain was found, of the name of Bedloe, no less detestable than Oates, who came forward with a fabricated tale of every thing that was wanted. Oates began to be universally hailed as the Saviour of the Nation; he and his employer had apartments assigned them in his majesty's palace of Whitehall, where they were plentifully maintained; and Bedloe, either stung by the sharp goadings of poverty, or envious of these distinctions and honours, entered himself in the same career.

But the worst part is still behind. The convulsions which had shaken the island; the ruin of one party after another, that

had successively possessed the entire government of the nation; the revolting exhibition of the bodies of Cromwel and Bradshaw; the king's shameless violation of all his engagements of pardon and oblivion; the remorseless persecution of the presbyterians, who, if we count the conscientious adherents only, were not less considerable (perhaps more so) than the party of the church of England; and the persecutors, many of them, having lately figured as leaders among those they persecuted,—had generated an almost universal want of principle in public men. CHAP. IX. 1678.

One of the extraordinary political characters of this period, a man possessing wonderful powers of conciliation, combination and turbulence, a comet, who "from his horrid hair shook pestilence and war," was Anthony, earl of Shaftesbury. This man, who, after busily engaging himself in the various scenes of the interregnum, became a party to some of the worst measures of Charles the Second, was suddenly discarded by his master in the year 1672, and from that time vowed destruction against his rivals, and that he would in some way be the author of a scene that should render his name memorable to the latest posterity. Meanwhile every man, however unscrupulous in his principles of conduct, has some ingenious sophistry by which he colours his nefarious proceedings to his own mind; and Shaftesbury satisfied himself that he should effect great national good, by contriving by whatever means that James duke of York should never sit on the throne of England.

The machinations of the Popish plot were exactly of a sort to suit the crooked policy of Shaftesbury; and he conceived

CHAP. IX. 1678.

that he could mould them into an instrument to accomplish his favourite project. It is consistent with the character of Shaftesbury to believe that he never credited a word of Oates's narrative; he, as well as his master, Charles the Second, was too clear-sighted to be the dupe of so gross a fabrication; he was formed to play upon the credulity of others, not to be played upon himself. As he had no feeling within his breast prompting him to shrink from confederacy with the basest of mankind, he entered into great familiarities with the infamous Oates; and in a pamphlet, published by this impostor a few months after the time of which we are treating, entitled the "Witch of Endor, or the Roman Jezebel," a dedication to Shaftesbury makes its appearance, in which he is spoken of by the terms of "the publisher's affectionate friend, and singular good lord."

The cautious character of the laws of England plunged Shaftesbury into the deepest guilt on this occasion. They require two witnesses to establish an act of treason; and hitherto there was but one, Oates to the conspiracy of the Jesuits, and Bedloe to the murder of sir Edmundbury Godfrey: besides, that the credulity of the public would soon have been worn out, if they had seen always the same individuals, and no more, brought for the support of every charge. Shaftesbury, and Villiers duke of Buckingham, two of the most vehement leaders of the opposition, were chosen into the committee of parliament for investigating the Popish plot; and it is incredible to what extremes these noblemen, particularly the former, who was made chairman of the committee, proceeded, in caresses, in threatenings, and in terror, to mould

the most despicable of mankind to their purposes. They visited such as were taken up on suspicion, privately in their dungeons, and caused them occasionally to be brought home to them at their houses for a more diligent examination. The exertions thus made were attended with competent fruit; and, at least so far as depended upon the number of testimonies, the committee for prosecuting the plot found themselves amply provided for every purpose. CHAP. IX. 1678.

Such were the preliminaries of the tragedy that was to follow. Green, Berry and Hill suffered for the murder of sir Edmundbury Godfrey. Grove and Pickering died, being charged by Oates with having agreed to shoot the king. Coleman perished, partly on the inflammatory tendency of his own letters, and partly under the fabrications of the witnesses. Next followed the trial and execution of six Jesuits, together with that of a lawyer, who had been accustomed to transact their pecuniary affairs, though it was proved by many witnesses, and more fully afterward, that Oates was at St. Omers, at the time when he swore they had confided their treasons to him in London; and that father Ireland, the first Jesuit that was hanged, was in Staffordshire, when the evidence against him maintained that he was in the metropolis. The public mind was deeply impressed, but unfortunately not till it was too late, with the asseverations of the victims, who uniformly, in their dying moments, protested by every thing that was sacred, their innocence of the matters laid to their charge. For six months these execrable murders were carried on, committed under all the forms of law, but with the 1679.

CHAP. IX. 1679.

grossest violation of justice on the part of the judges who presided, with whom it was at all times a sufficient reason for giving no credit to a witness, that he was a Catholic.

Whatever was thus done however, was wide of the object at which Shaftesbury principally aimed. A further scheme suggested itself to his intrepid mind. Though Charles had a numerous progeny by several mistresses, the bed of his queen had always been barren. She was a princess of the house of Portugal; a woman of a narrow mind, and of great bigotry. The king did not love her; and she had now lived for a considerable time, in a state of civil banishment from the palace in which her husband resided. Bedloe therefore and Oates were instructed to involve the queen in the plot, and to swear that she had been heard to say to some of the Jesuits who were accused, that she was determined to be revenged on the king for his perpetual violations of the marriage-bed. Shaftesbury thought, that if she could be given up a victim to the prejudices of the nation, the king might be left free for a second marriage, and the dangers which at present threatened the succession, might be removed by the most natural means. It happened however, unfortunately for the views of this dextrous statesman, that Charles now first assumed a firmness of character to which he had hitherto been a stranger. His remark was, "They think I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that, I will not see an innocent woman abused." Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, was the next person arraigned for the plot; in his case the innocence or guilt of his mistress was tried virtually with his own; and, Shaftesbury perceiving that he should fail in this first effort of his

policy, the question was left to its own merits, and sir George was acquitted. CHAP. IX.

The next project of the earl of Shaftesbury was a bill of exclusion against the duke of York, on account of his bigoted attachment to the Roman Catholic religion; accompanied with a plan for legitimating the duke of Monmouth, a young man of the most prepossessing person and graceful manners, to whom of all his natural children the king was known to be most devotedly attached. The horror of Popery which every where prevailed at this time, seemed to afford the most favourable opportunity for a scheme of this sort; and all the best patriots in the nation fervently lent their support to the project, as far as the exclusion of the duke of York was concerned. But this undertaking failed equally with the former. Shaftesbury had calculated that his sovereign was the sort of character to be served against his will; that he would not have the activity and courage to concur in a plan of this sort, if offered to him; but that he would forwardly accept the fruits of it, if he found the difficulties conquered to his hands. The king appeared to have very little regard for his brother, and to be unboundedly affectionate and indulgent to his mistresses and their children. But Shaftesbury was erroneous in his calculations; Charles set himself with equal inflexibility against the idea of disinheriting his brother, as of destroying his wife. The parliament which entertained the bill of exclusion, met in March, and after many debates and much negociation, was dissolved in July. A second parliament was assembled in the autumn of the following year, and dismissed in a similar manner. The king offered 1679. 1680.

CHAP. IX. 1680.

to subscribe to any scheme that should be tendered to him, for limiting the powers of his successor, but declared his unalterable resolution not to consent to his exclusion from the throne; while the party in opposition persuaded themselves that nothing was necessary but perseverance, to secure their success. Meanwhile, the terrors of the plot wore off; the base methods by which it had been prosecuted appeared every day more glaring; and the temperate firmness of the king increased the number of his partisans, and more and more turned the scale in his favour.

Such was the train of policy at this time, of which the gross fabrications of Oates had served for the original source. With respect to the connection between John Philips and this impostor, I was at first inclined to be incredulous. I thought it a fact of too much moment, and too much discredited by all that had gone before, to be admitted on the ground of the incidental mention by Antony Wood. Wood however referred me to a pamphlet, written by William Smith, Schoolmaster of Islington; and having found and examined this pamphlet, I am furnished with sufficient evidence, to place the matter on its right foundation.

The title of Smith's pamphlet, which is erroneously given by Wood, is "The Intrigues of the Popish Plot laid Open," and it was published in the year 1685. The author was one of the persons earliest taken into custody upon the information of Oates, and that informer appears to have had great hopes of turning him into a witness. Smith had been Oates's schoolmaster, being an usher at Merchant Taylors' School, at the time that Oates was a pupil there; and an occasional ac-

quaintance had subsisted between them since. Oates however could not succeed in moulding his *quondam* preceptor altogether to his mind. Once indeed, with much contrivance, and hard threatening, he trained him on to swear that Oates was in London when the Catholics swore that he was at St. Omers, and in this Smith confesses that he was guilty of perjury. His perjury no doubt had its share in the destruction of the six Jesuits. Both before and after this perjury, he was one of Oates's regular visitors in his apartments at Whitehall. This therefore is not a very respectable testimony to produce, even to an historical fact; but Smith could have no motive radically to pervert the particulars in which he mentions John Philips. Smith furnishes the name; and Wood identifies the person, as being the John Philips, who was the nephew of Milton.

The first time that the name of John Philips occurs in Smith's narrative, is as the member of a sort of club, at a tavern in Fulwood's Rents, where in September 1678 Smith appears in company with Oates, Philips, and Medburn, a player and a Catholic, who afterward perished in Newgate in consequence of the depositions of Oates. Here, he says, they got into a debate, whether the king was one of the three estates of the realm, or superior to all, in which he and Medburn took the tory, and Oates and John Philips the whig side of the question. This appears to have been at the very time that Oates was most busily employed in arranging the particulars of the Popish plot, assisted by the pen of Dr. Tonge.

Toward the conclusion of his pamphlet, Smith complains that he had been slandered with the imputation that he wrote

CHAP. IX. 1680.

seditious pamphlets for Oates, but asserts that in reality he only translated for him. He adds, "For all my pains Oates never paid me a penny, though he punctually satisfied John Philips for writing the many lies and villainies, that even yet remain under his name [qu. Oates's?] on every fanatical book-seller's stall."

This is no very conclusive evidence that Philips did employ himself in writing trash for Titus Oates. It is in reality the venting of the pique of the man who was not paid, against one who he imagined was better treated than himself. In the outset of Oates's career he was aided by the pen of Dr. Tonge, a professed and veteran author, and certainly did not conceive he stood in need of any other literary assistance. In the height of his glory indeed, we are told Oates quarrelled with the doctor, and turned him out of his apartments in Whitehall; at this time he might have desired to be aided by the pen of John Philips.

At all events we have no reason to doubt that John Philips and Oates were upon very familiar terms, and we are sure, as will appear hereafter, that John Philips embraced the party of Oates. This fact suggests various reflections to the mind. It was an unlikely circumstance, that John Philips, so stout a loyalist, as to go out of his way to express by implication his approval of the burning of Milton's political works, and to introduce Bradshaw and Vane among the damned in hell, should have so suddenly turned round, and engaged with a party, nearly as formidable [and much less scrupulous as to the means they employed] to Charles the Second, as the party of Milton had ever been to his father. But the fact was, that

in both instances John Philips turned with the tide, and followed the herd. In 1655, and so onward to the middle of Charles the Second's reign, it was fashionable for young men of spirit, of freedom of speech, and freedom of manners, to adhere to the king and the court, and express themselves in contemptuous terms concerning anti-episcopalians, non-conformists, and "hypocrites;" and John Philips would have been ashamed not to make one in the cry. Shortly after this, Shaftesbury, Buckingham and Monmouth, men of the gayest temper and the most graceful manners, set themselves at the head of the anti-courtiers, and began a cry against Popery, and the bigoted and gloomy disposition of the duke of York; and John Philips would have been equally sorry not to have been counted in their train. The author of Virgil Travestie and the Satyr against Hypocrites loved nothing so well as burlesque; and the same frame of mind that had prompted him in his preceding life, now induced him to look with ineffable contempt upon a privy council of Jesuits, and a Popish successor.

But this is not the whole of the case we are considering. William Smith has led us behind the scenes, and shown us John Philips in his familiar moments. We see him not only upon terms of the freest intercourse with Oates, as lord Shaftesbury was, using this loathsome reptile as his instrument for accomplishing what he deemed the noblest purposes. John Philips found him out, before the period of his glory, while he was yet nothing to the public, and attached himself to him from congeniality of character, and approbation of his qualities. When we have sufficiently viewed John Philips, sitting

CHAP. IX. 1680.

down at a wretched club in Fulwood's Rents, with the renowned Titus Oates, with William Smith, who relates of himself, that he once consented to commit perjury to take away the lives of men, and that in another instance, when Oates proposed to him a proceeding of a similar kind, he replied he would consider of it,—when, I say, we see him sitting down with these men and their associates, we feel ourselves more fully assured of the debasement of his mind and the impurity of his tastes, than we could have been by almost any lucubration in prose or verse that he could possibly have written.

Prompted by his attachment to this celebrated witness, John Philips produced in the year 1680, a pamphlet, entitled, "Dr. Oates's Narrative of the Popish Plot Vindicated: in Answer to a Scurrilous and Treasonable Libel, called a Vindication of the English Catholicks." To this publication he has annexed his usual name and qualification, "J. Philips, Gent;" and it is "humbly presented to the Most Renowned and Most Noble Senate in Europe, the Lords and Commons of England, Assembled in Parlament."

It does not seem reasonable to believe that John Philips was any more the dupe of the story of the pretended Popish plot, than the earl of Shaftesbury himself. From a very early period he had shown that he was altogether superior to the delusions of bigotry and religious enthusiasm. Like Shaftesbury, however, he probably thought the succession of the duke of York was by any means to be prevented, and that the sacrifice of the lives of a few obscure individuals, through the medium of a little resolute and audacious perjury, was a cheap price for the accomplishment of such an end. The

pamphlet John Philips undertakes to refute, if we may judge of the whole from his occasional quotations from it, is, a collection of attestations in favour of the sufferers for the plot, forming a code of historical evidence seldom to be obtained; and the chief answer of the Vindicator of Titus Oates, twenty times repeated, is, that the attestations of a hundred Catholics can never be put in the balance with the oath of one Protestant witness, however dishonoured in life, or however blasted in character.

This is certainly a loathsome point of view in which to consider this production of John Philips. Oates, by his atrocious proceedings, his calm and undaunted perjuries, destroyed twenty innocent men by the hands of the executioner, and twice as many in the darkness and miseries of a prison, filled the whole island with frantic alarms by his incredible lies, and brought a disgrace on the nation itself, which I am afraid can hardly be paralleled in systematic and deliberate injustice, in the history of any other age or country: and John Philips writes his pamphlet, in virtuous terror lest his beloved friend Titus Oates, by the "scurrilous and treasonable libels" published against him, should be bereaved of the opportunity of committing more murders.

There is however another point of view, not quite so atrocious, in which the circumstance may be considered; and in justice to John Philips this ought not to be withheld. The king and his confidential adherents had at all times looked upon the story of the Popish plot with extreme disgust and aversion, however they might have found it necessary to temporise. At first the effect was like a mighty torrent, and they

CHAP. IX. 1680.

deemed it incumbent upon them to yield to its force, and to dissemble their real opinions. But after no considerable interval, they began to regard it with less terror, and even to conceive that it might finally be made conducive to the gratifying of all their wishes. Shaftesbury and the exclusionists had been rendered in a manner irresistible, by the alarm of threatened massacres, and the scene of horrors displayed by Oates and his witnesses. But when none of these things came to pass, when the Catholics were seen to be, not bloody conspirators, but the patient victims of a fabricated tale, the tide began to ebb, the court was no longer viewed with the same irreconcilable alienation, and the general popularity which had attended upon the perjured witnesses, and their illustrious protectors and abettors, was rapidly on the decline.

Meanwhile, there was a multiplicity of interests weighing in the opposite scale, inducing all sober men and friends to the public good, to contemplate the possible triumph of the court with the greatest alarm. The succession of a bigoted and narrow-minded Catholic was perhaps the least of the evils to be apprehended. The government of Charles had at all times shown itself unprincipled, decidedly the enemy of liberty, civil and religious, insensible alike to morality in individuals, and to public and national honour. The very zeal with which the project of exclusion had been urged, would, in case of a defeat, put new weapons into the hands of the public enemy. Every thing was then to be feared, that profligacy could engender, or the most daring contempt of morality and reputation inflict on a vanquished nation.

The anticipation of this infused fresh perseverance into the

minds of the friends of Protestantism and of freedom, and served to convince the king, that if he did obtain the victory, he had still a hard battle to sustain. The city of London in particular was the strong hold of opposition, and the quarter from which government had every thing to fear. The more their strength appeared to diminish, the more the spirit and resolution of opposition increased, gaining new courage from despair. CHAP. IX. 1680.

The king therefore, after having thrice dissolved the parliament, judged it expedient in March 1681, to summon a fourth to meet at Oxford, out of the reach of the tumults and cabals of the city of London. Hither the opposition, well knowing that government would scruple no violence that was in their power, repaired in great force, with numerous bands of their attendants, not armed indeed, but sufficiently formidable to hold their antagonists in awe, and to give freedom to their debates. The king tried every expedient of negociation and concession, short of giving up his brother entirely; and having found every thing he could do in that way unsuccessful, he dissolved this parliament also after a session of a single week, and resolved for time to come to govern without the interference of the legislative assembly. 1681.

Charles knew, and was capable of conceiving, no other means for the defeat of his adversaries, than those to which they had so unhappily had recourse, the fabrication of plots, and taking away the lives of those who were displeasing to him through the medium of false accusations. Shaftesbury had concurred in the destruction of a few narrow-souled Jesuits, and had allowed himself to think that this was a cheap

CHAP. IX. 1681.

purchase, to get rid of a bad government in existence, and a worse in expectation, the disgrace and ruin of his country: and Charles resolved upon destroying by similar means Shaftesbury himself, together with those men who for their inflexible patriotism, or the public confidence which their virtues procured them, he considered as most to be dreaded by him. He resolved to take a signal vengeance upon the adversaries to whom he and his brother had been compelled to yield for more than two years, as in the commencement of his reign he had taken a signal vengeance upon the persons who had been most immediately concerned in the death of his father. There seems to have been something in the structure of the mind of Charles the Second, that made him find some of his choicest gratifications in the halter and the scaffold. As he rendered the first part of his reign memorable, by digging Cromwel out of his grave, and the destruction of sir Henry Vane, so he closed the glories of his history with the executions of Algernon Sidney and lord Russel; and he found a suitable pandar to his passions of this sort in judge Jefferies.

The earliest object of his vengeance however was Shaftesbury. This nobleman was committed a prisoner to the Tower on the second of July. The king himself thought it not beneath him to confer in private with the witnesses, and to endeavour, as the lawyers phrase it, to make up a case, for the destruction of him and his coadjutors.[b] The evidences chiefly relied on, were some of the principal original witnesses for the Popish plot. They were secretly given to understand, that

[b] Captain Wilkinson's Narrative.

the day of their triumph was gone by, that it was impossible they should any longer gain credit for the tales they had averred, that they had every one of them rendered themselves liable to the penalties of perjury, and that the court was determined to pursue them with the severest vengeance. It is not surprising that men, originally of the basest sort, and who had stepped in so far in asseverations of unblushing falshood, should for the most part prefer the favour of these royal patrons, to a hostility unmitigable, and with all power, in existence, or in probability, in its hands. Our astonishment would rather be, if we were not previously acquainted with the character of the reign, that persons of the highest rank, not uninured by their education to notions of liberality and honour, and with "a kingdom for their stage," should have descended to such groveling and unparalleled villainy.

The first victim of the resentment of the court was Stephen College, an artisan, but a fervent politician, known at that day by the name of the "Protestant Joiner," a man of unblemished manners and incorruptible honesty; but who had been deluded by Shaftesbury into the opinion, that all his measures were necessary to be carried, for the welfare of the nation. The witnesses whom the king had marshalled, converted the noisy and tumultuous procession into Oxford, into a plan for seizing the person of the sovereign, and changing the government by force. They swore abundantly to conversations of Shaftesbury, College and others, in which these political champions were represented as using the most direct and intemperate terms, and not hesitating to make the whole file of informers the confidents of their designs. College was first in-

CHAP. IX. 1681.

dicted in London; but the grand jury threw out the bill against him. He was then removed to Oxford. There he was actually put upon his trial; the notes he had prepared for his defense were taken from him by violence, as he went into court; and every enormity was practised, without in the smallest degree subtracting from the firmness of his spirit. He was hanged at Oxford on the thirty-first of August.

Titus Oates presented himself on the trial of College, to disqualify the evidence of these witnesses. If it were not too harsh a thing to say of such a monster of complicated enormity, I should almost be tempted to affirm that Oates on this day appeared comparatively amiable. He at least showed that he was capable of a certain sentiment of fidelity, and that among this constellation of witnesses he was not worst. He accordingly fell under the lash of Mr. serjeant Jefferies, who observed with suitable cogency of logic, "These witnesses have not changed sides, as you have; they are still evidences for the king, you are against him."

During this scene of iniquity, lord Shaftesbury continued a prisoner in the Tower. It must have occasioned him strange reflections, to see the witnesses, whom he had trained and instructed, and upon whom he had reposed himself for the consummation of his plans, now, upon the first cloud of adversity, turned against him, and employed to take away his life through the same means of subornation. The question was brought before the grand jury of Middlesex on the twenty-fourth of November, and the bill of indictment against Shaftesbury was rejected.

It is with great pain that I recollect, that it was at this pe-

riod, and on this occasion, that the memorable genius of Dryden gave to the world his poem of Absalom and Achitophel. It was published on the seventeenth of November,[c] and must therefore have been intended to give the last blow to the fate of Shaftesbury. Let us recollect, in conjunction with the season at which it appeared, the language of the poem. Speaking of the persons who composed the faction against the court, Dryden says, CHAP. IX. 1681.

"Of these the false Achitophel[d] was first;
A name to all succeeding ages curst."

And, when we have combined these things with the servile and fascinating colouring he has lent to the dissoluteness of the king in the first page of the poem, we must necessarily entertain a very mean opinion of the moral principles, and even the humanity of the writer. It is rather, I think, an aggravation of this profligacy, that, when the intrigue against Shaftesbury had been defeated, Dryden could in the following editions modify the bitterness of his attack, with the interposition of some lines of treacherous and false-hearted commendation. There is more foundation than has commonly been imagined for the indignant contempt with which Swift treats his "cousin Dryden," when he thus parodies his manner of speaking of himself and his past life. "This indeed is more than I can justly expect from a quill worn to the pith in the service of the state, in *pros* and *cons* upon Popish plots, and meal-tubs, and exclusion bills, and passive obedience, and liberty of conscience, and prerogative, and property, and from

[c] Malone, Life of Dryden, p. 156, 157. [d] Shaftesbury.

CHAP. IX.

1681. an understanding, and a conscience, thread-bare and ragged with perpetual turning. Fourscore and eleven pamphlets have I written under three reigns, and for the service of six-and-thirty factions. But finding the state has no further occasion for me and my ink, I retire willingly to draw it out into speculations more becoming a philosopher, having to my unspeakable comfort, passed a long life, with a conscience void of offence."[e]

1683. The conclusion of the story of the politics of the Stuarts, may be dismissed in a few words. There being no longer a parliament, and the judges being unreservedly devoted to the pleasure of the court, the king pushed on his triumph in the style he had always used on similar occasions.[f] Pilkington, late sheriff of London, was cast in damages of one hundred thousand pounds, for inflammatory words spoken against the duke of York. Sir Patience Ward, who had been lord mayor, and whose offence was appearing in behalf of Pilkington on his trial, was sentenced to the pillory. The charter of the city of London was declared legally forfeited to the crown on the most frivolous pretenses; and the metropolis enslaved to the mandates of the court; while most of the other corporations of the kingdom were induced to compound with the government, that they might not be subjected to a similar prosecution. Algernon Sydney and lord Russel next perished under the witnesses of Charles the Second, and the legal ad-

1684. ministration of judge Jefferies. And in the year following

[e] Tale of a Tub, Introduction.

[f] Shaftesbury died a fugitive in Holland in January of this year.

Rosewel, a dissenting clergyman, received sentence of high treason, for a supposed passage in a sermon, which different witnesses, who had taken the whole in short-hand, proved that it did not contain. The court became ashamed of its legal ministers in this instance; and the man was not executed. CHAP. IX. 1684.

The fate of the more imprudent part of the witnesses to the Popish plot was reserved for the reign of the successor. Charles the Second was of a character to scorn all womanly remorse of nature; he could laugh, and murder while he laughed; but to induce him to proceed there was need of an animating motive; murder was a means he did not shrink to employ, but he did not perhaps delight in it as an end: but James had a cold-blooded and a saturnine temper, a palsied energy of soul, that found a congenial satisfaction in obeying the blackest appetites of our nature. In his reign, as the particular circumstances belonging to our story, occurred the convictions of Oates and Dangerfield, the sentence of the former of whom was to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be perpetually imprisoned, and to stand in the pillory five times a year as long as he lived. Oates survived to be a pensioner to the government of king William: but Dangerfield, the next witness in point of notoriety (Bedloe died in the year 1680), having less muscular strength, expired, from the united effect of his whipping, and of a stick thrust into his eye by a zealous Catholic on his return from the execution.[s] But the tale, which perhaps of all 1685.

[s] This might emphatically be called the "reign of terror," to the witnesses of the

CHAP. IX. 1685.

others characterises the reign of James the Second, is that of Mrs. Gaunt, who, from motives of charity only, relieved one of the rebels under the duke of Monmouth, and being informed against by the man she had saved, was convicted upon his evidence, and sentenced by judge Jefferies to be burned, which sentence was confirmed by the king, and executed accordingly. Let it be remembered, that it was this same James, of whom it is reported, that when duke of York, he visited the blind poet, the glory of his country, with a purpose to insult him, and being stung and driven to flight by the merited retort he received, reproached his brother in much distemper, that so great a rogue was suffered to go unhanged.[h]

> " Then the next heir [the duke] :—
> Of every royal virtue stands possest,
> Still dear to all the bravest and the best:
> His courage foes, his friends his truth proclaim,—
> His mercy even the offending crowd shall find;
> *For sure he comes of a forgiving kind!*"[i]

This narrative has carried us somewhat beyond the period at which John Philips published his Vindication of the depo-

plot. It was this period that drew from the wretched Miles Prance, a goldsmith, who had first been made a witness by the threats and severities of Shaftesbury, and was afterward involved in the same sentence with Oates and Dangerfield, but having pleaded guilty, the whipping was remitted him, his Letter of Retractation, inserted in L'Estrange's Brief History of the Times. A shrewd turn it was, that William Smith played upon John Philips, when, not contented with excusing as he could the foul participation he had in Oates's perjuries, he endeavoured in these perilous times, at one and the same moment to slip his own neck out of the noose, and to fasten the odium and danger upon his old associate at Fulwood's Rents.

[h] Simmons, Life of Milton, p. 446.

[i] Absalom and Achitophel.

sitions of Titus Oates. It was necessary however to advance so far, for the purpose of obtaining a clear view of the case. Oates was soon deserted by that irresistible tide of popularity, which for a time bore him aloft "the saviour of the nation;" and the voyage of his life was fast subsiding "in shallows and in miseries." John Philips found therefore, it may be, a sort of gallantry in sustaining his friend in the wane of his greatness; and as this man, in the midst of his loathsomeness, appears to have had a comparative merit, it may be but reasonable to ascribe to John Philips the taste to discern it.

The next publication ascribed to John Philips by Antony Wood, is entitled, "The Character of a Popish Successor, and what England may expect from Such a One. Part the Second. Or, The Dispute of the Succession Moderately Discussed, upon the Considerations of National Practice, Reason, and the Statutes of the Realm. Printed for Richard Janeway. 1681." 1681.

The original pamphlet, entitled "The Character of a Popish Successor, humbly offered to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament appointed to meet at Oxford," was the production of the wretched and notorious Elkanah Settle, who after having published this piece, and one or two defenses in support of the allegations it contains, found it convenient in the course of about two years to issue from the press a solemn retractation of the whole. Settle had the appointment of poet-laureat to the lord-mayor of London, in consequence of which he wrote various songs or odes, called "Triumphs for the Inauguration" of that magistrate, which were annually performed on the ninth of November at Guildhall, in the same manner

CHAP. IX. 1681.

as the Odes for the King's Birth-Day have since been performed at St. James's. As long as the government of the city was in the hands of the whigs, Settle was accordingly a zealous exclusionist: but when the king resumed the charter of London, which was restored on no other terms than those of surrendering the whole power of the corporation into the hands of the government, Settle discovered that he could no longer retain his elevated situation, but by a full recantation of his whiggish offences. In the pamphlet produced by him to this effect, entitled Elkanah Settle's Narrative,[k] he states that the Character had been retouched by his noble friend in Aldersgate Street [Shaftesbury], and that the only objection he had made to it was that it was not sufficiently strong in favour of insurrection.

Settle has prefixed to one of his defenses of the Character of a Popish Successor, an advertisement, disclaiming any share in the Second Part of the Character. Indeed it is no common instance of humility on the part of John Philips, to have made his pamphlet in this way an appendage to the production of the city-poet. Settle's pamphlet in the mean time, however infirm and incoherent in its structure, seems to have been then regarded as the manifesto of the party; and there was therefore perhaps a convenience in giving to another production on the same subject an ostensible connection with its predecessor.

The Second Part of the Character of a Popish Successor is a considerable example of the union of sobriety and firmness

[k] 1683.

in pleading, and fully answers to its individual title of "A Moderate Discussion of the Dispute respecting the Succession, upon the Considerations of National Practice, Reason, and the Statutes of the Realm." The way in which the author sets out, shews some masterliness in the art of composition.

"It might seem strangely preposterous," says he, "and a thing altogether unseasonable, that such eager disputes should be on foot, and such sedulous endeavours used, to exclude a presumptive heir to the kingdom, as if the king were upon his death-bed, or else lying in state ready for interment; whereas on the contrary, with all due acknowledgement to heaven for it, we find the immediate possessor of the throne still alive, and which is more, in a condition of health, and firmness of constitution, with that little difference of age, that promises but very small hopes of a survivorship: A thing scarce to be parallelled in history, that such continual knells should be rung in a prince's ears, before mortality itself has given the least alarum to his self-decaying strength.

"But when we consider what assassinations have been designed against his sacred person, what care has been taken to hasten him out of the world, and accelerate the slow pace of common fate: when we consider upon what foundations the aspirer builds his hopes, upon what hopes his assistants lend their helping hands, how he is hurried on by the enemies of the kingdom, whose advantages depend upon the ruin of the religion and laws of the nation by his advance: we cannot then blame sworn allegiance and loyalty for listening to the voice of unanimous testimony, and for being in hourly fears, as looking upon their sovereign, their shield of defence and

CHAP. IX. 1681.

protection, in hourly danger, and as it were every minute at deaths door."

John Philips affirms, that "never any prince openly professing one religion, yet in this world did govern a people before, that were addicted to a clean contrary worship;" and he makes great use of the proceedings that took place in France, before Henry the Fourth was permitted to ascend the throne of that kingdom. He delivers himself in the following manner respecting Shaftesbury and the whigs.

"To suppress the loud complaints of these miscarriages, the stirring, adverse party [the court-faction] make most hideous outcries of Designs against Monarchy, Machinations against the Whole Regal Line; crying out *Fire, Fire*, after they have set the nation in a combustion themselves.

"But the different steerage of the pilots, easily discovers the fraud of these delusive clamours: while the one, by furling only the top-sails of monarchy, that would overset it in the storm, endeavour to con it into the harbour of peace and tranquillity; the other, handing out all sails in the tempest, and swelling them with the violent gusts of arbitrary fury and unlimited will, run it upon all the rocks imaginable of dishonour and ill-success. These are but thundering exclamations of bad instruments, with which they endeavour to encounter the opposers of their evil management. Upon whom they will never be able to fasten their calumnies, till they outdoe them in their magnanimous attempts for the publick good.

"Were it lawful to invoke the immediate decision of heaven, there is no question to be made, but that it would soon appear, which of the two did reverence their prince with the

most religious duty and uninterested obedience, and which would be most ready to sacrifice their lives for his prosperity. Then it would appear, how far these accused and calumnized worthies are from designing either against their prince or his posterity. Crimes, incompatible with their untainted honour, their unblemished piety, and the genius that guides and enlivens their undertakings." CHAP. IX. 1681.

In the following year, John Philips again appeared in print, in a small quarto pamphlet, entitled "*Speculum Crape-Gownorum:* or, a Looking-Glass for the Young Academicks, new Foyl'd. With Reflections on some of the late High-Flown Sermons. To which is added, An Essay towards a Sermon of the Newest Fashion. By a Guide to the Inferiour Clergie." 1682.

The occasion of this pamphlet was as follows. The clergy of the church of England never appeared to such disadvantage, as in the reign of Charles the Second. They were urged by the combined goadings of terror and resentment. They saw the whole ecclesiastical establishment pitilessly destroyed by the parliament of 1640. Charles the First however had never failed to make common cause with them, and they hailed him as their martyr. The counsellors of Charles the Second, particularly the earl of Clarendon, were equally well disposed towards them. Accordingly, whatever were the faults of Clarendon in other respects, he was always regarded by them as the restorer and the pillar of the church. In all his intolerant measures they entirely concurred. The anti-episcopalians, as has been already said, were more numerous at the period of the Restoration, than the victorious party;

CHAP. IX. 1682.

and the clergy were generally of opinion, that it was by force and rigorous measures only, that their ascendancy could be preserved. They considered the cause of episcopacy and monarchy as one; and while the king scattered their enemies by the execution of penal statutes, they thought it but just, that they should strengthen the hands of government, by lessons of unlimited loyalty, and by inculcating on all occasions the famous doctrines of *non-resistance and passive obedience*. Under the reign of the successor, and when the question came to be that of the establishment of Popery, they recanted their errors, and in some measure atoned for the dogmas of tyranny upon which they had previously fallen. Meanwhile John Philips, and the whigs in general, when they found themselves silenced by the rigours of despotism upon the great topics of political safety, had recourse, by way of venting their spleen, to an attack upon the absurdities and follies of the clerical body.

It is a strange and discreditable feature in this publication, that a great part of it is borrowed without acknowledgement from Dr. John Eachard's Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy, which had been published only twelve years before. This is the more extraordinary, as Eachard's book appears to have been one of the most popular ever issued from the press; the ninth edition, printed in 1685, now lies before me; and in five years from its first publication in 1670, it procured for its author, who had not at that time even been in orders, the appointment of master of Catherine Hall in the university of Cambridge. Swift, who will be allowed to be an excellent judge of wit, has coupled Eachard's book with Marvel's celebrated piece of the Rehearsal Transprosed; and both

CHAP. IX. 1682.

together will afford to the curious enquirer into the history of literature and taste, an excellent specimen of the sort of composition most in fashion with the men of gaiety and wit in the reign of Charles the Second.

It is certainly unaccountable, how John Philips, a man whose talents in the ludicrous and burlesque style were little inferior to those of Eachard, should have come to borrow the substance of his pamphlet, from a book which we should be apt to think was in every body's hand, and every body's mouth, at the very time that he wrote. It is not to be doubted, that he made an essential difference between a piece that he published anonymously, and one to which he annexed his name, and that this consideration softened to him the idleness and irregularity of his proceeding. He also perhaps held it as some novelty, to apply those very facts to *excite* a contempt of the clergy, which Eachard had only produced as evils to be deplored, and of which he earnestly pressed for the removal: but this is not done with any ingenuity. Meanwhile the vanity of John Philips was unquestionably somewhat soothed by the reflection, that the "Essay towards a Sermon of the Newest Fashion," which is annexed to his pamphlet, and is wholly his own, is equal in point of humour to any thing that occurs in Dr. Eachard's performance.

The text of this sermon is from the "Thirty-Second Chapter of Rabelais, *versu nescio quo*: Then Grandgousier[l] sending to know what the matter was, found that some of his people had taken away certain simnels from the subjects of Picrochol."[m]

[l] Wide Throat. [m] *Iræ Amaræ*, Bitter Resentment.

CHAP. IX. 1682.

The simnels the author expounds to mean "the rights and privileges of us churchmen," and Grandgousier to be the Dissenters and Fanatics. As to the simnels, which the presbyterians, "men who will not drink the duke's health, nor crie Huzzah," would take away, "There is," says the author, "the simnel of bowing at the altar; there is the simnel of the surplice; there is the simnel of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that has many plums in it: the plums of commination; the plums of excommunication; the plums of endictments, fining and imprisonment for conscience-sake. Then there is our choicest simnel of all, the simnel of our livings and our tythes. And lastly, there is our simnel of succession: for the dukes case is a hard case, my beloved; the scripture tells us so. All these simnels, my beloved, would the Fanaticks, the subjects of Grandgousier take from us by force and violence.—So have I seen, when a young child has carelessly held a piece of bread and butter in his hand, and looked another way, that a Grandgousier dog has come and snatched away the childs bread and butter, the childs simnel, and run away with it. Thus we are not to hold our simnels carelessly in our hands; but we are to watch and take care that our simnels, our rights and our privileges, be not taken away."

The satire in this Essay towards a Sermon, upon the mode of introducing the political topics of the day upon all occasions into the pulpit, and probably upon the quaint and pedantical style then in vogue, is good. But it is obvious to remark, that the writer has missed the richest topic, and that which when exposed in the broad light of burlesque, would have had the most humourous effect, and that is the lessons of

non-resistance and passive obedience which were at this time so incessantly inculcated. A writer of satire however in these days was not so much at liberty as we might be apt to imagine, in the choice of his topics. Under the benign auspices of Charles's reign,

> "Mild, easy, humble, studious of our good,
> Inclined to mercy, and averse from blood,"[n]

the freedom of the press was sometimes reprehended, in a way which might make the stoutest satirist a little scrupulous as to the points he should treat. So long as the grand and petty juries of the city of London, then under whig influence, could be depended on, it was well. But it was easy to see that the reign of the whigs was grievously on the wane; and whenever that should terminate, the libeller might without much forecast discover what he had to depend on. A man had been hanged in the year 1664, for printing the "Speeches and Prayers of Some of the Late King's Judges." College certainly owed his fate as much to a certain song, called the "Raree Show," and one or two other ballads, as to any thing the perjured witnesses of the Popish plot swore against him. Part of the indictment against Algernon Sydney was for his unpublished Discourses on Government, found in manuscript in his closet; and Jefferies himself acknowledged that without this part of the charge he could never have been convicted. But the most striking example is that of Rosewel, already mentioned. He must be a rigorous moralist, who, when such was the adminis-

[n] Absalom and Achitophel.

CHAP. IX. 1682.

tration of criminal justice, would not allow the satirist to exercise a certain degree of prudence in the choice of the topics he should treat.

In the Second Part of the *Speculum Crape-Gownorum* the author has the following skilful argument in favour of the toleration of dissenters, practically considered.

"As to the law against seditious conventicles, I have this to say:

"First, I do not find that the makers of that law do assign the least breach of political obedience against the dissenters: only there is a supposition, that an insurrection may be hatch'd at such a meeting: So that as long as there is no such thing done as the law supposes, where there is no transgression there can be no punishment.—

"In the second place, it was never yet known in this world, that any civil magistrate, or supreme power made a law, with an intent to punish any good man. This law against dissenters punishes many a good man, therefore never intended by the supreme power against the dissenters. Now, that the dissenters are good men, I prove from David's own description of a good man in Psalm 15. Where putting the question to himself, *Vir bonus est quis?* He answers, first as to the civil government, *Qui ambulat integre, exercetque justitiam;* that is, He that behaves himself dutifully and obediently toward the civil magistrate, and justly toward his neighbour. Now that the dissenters are, at least outwardly, under the guard of these descriptions of good men, is plain, for that no informer complains against them for the least breach of civil obedience either

in word or deed as to any other law, but only the single act of nonconformity to this statute. So then the statute not being intended against them, as being good and vertuous men, and conformable to the civil government, they can be guilty of no nonconformity to the commands of the civil power: For the civil power by this act enjoyns nothing but peace to be kept; with the breach of which no informer as yet hath taxed them.—

"The Psalmist proceeding in the next words, after he has declared who does well in civils, tels us who does well in spirituals; That is to say, *Qui loquitur veritatem ex animo suo*, He that speaks truth from his heart. But the dissenters do speak truth, nay the truth of truth, divine truth.—

"Now then put it thus. Never did any lawgivers make a law, with an intent to punish any man that speaks divine truth; But this law against dissenters punishes many a man that speaks divine truth: Therefore never any lawgivers intended this law against the dissenters. And the same argument holds for the hearers, as well as the speakers, for that the hearing of divine truth is as lawful as to speak it. Now, That the dissenters preach divine truth is easily thus proved; The church of England teaches divine truth; the dissenters teach the same doctrine with the church of England: Therefore the dissenters teach divine truth."

While John Philips was thus plunged in the foul and impure stream of politics, such as it was found in the latter part of the reign of Charles the Second, his elder brother lived in a tranquil and virtuous obscurity, and gave no other productions to the public, than an *Enchiridion Linguæ Latinæ*, or Compen-

CHAP. IX. 1682.

dious Latin Dictionary,[o] and *Speculum Linguæ Latinæ*, or Vocabulary, both printed in octavo, and published in 1684. In each of these works it is suggested by Wood that he made great use of the Latin *Thesaurus*, in the compiling of which Milton had been engaged, and the papers of which appear to have been at this time in Edward Philips's hands. Two years before, Edward Philips had also printed a small tract in quarto, entitled *De Modo et Ratione Formandi Voces Derivativas Linguæ Latinæ*. It was probably at this time that he kept a school in the Strand, where, as Wood informs us, he was "a good master, but lived in poor condition." The Oxford historian adds, that "about this time he had married a woman with several children, and that shortly after he was without employment, and wrote and translated several things to gain a bare livelihood." Certainly it is by no means creditable to the duchess of Grafton, the earl of Pembroke, and the family of Evelyn, that a man who had officiated as a private tutor to each of these, and had discharged his duties in an honourable manner, should have been suffered to fall into these straits. I am willing to believe that such things would not be allowed to happen in our days.

Literature seems to have been the vocation of John Philips, and accordingly, when party-writing was put an end to for the present by the triumph of despotism, we find him returning to a more moderate and probably a more useful occupation, that

[o] This Dictionary is not mentioned by Ainsworth, in his copious enumeration of Dictionaries of the Latin tongue for the use of English readers, which closes with the publication of Elisha Coles in 1677. Preface to the First Edition of Ainsworth, 1736.

of a translator. The first work that now engaged his attention in this way, was the "History of Æthiopia, by Ludolphus," a native of Saxony. This man was an extraordinary example of application and knowledge. His particular faculty seems to have been the acquisition of languages; and five and twenty are enumerated, in which he is said to have attained great proficiency. Among these are the learned languages, most of the tongues of modern Europe, and all the different forms of speech that distinguish the Eastern world, the Chinese perhaps only excepted. He published in particular a "Grammar of the Æthiopic Tongue," being the language in which the books of the Abyssinians are principally written, and a "Grammar of the Amharic," or the language in which business is carried on among them, and which is employed by them in conversation, and a Lexicon of each. Having made himself eminently a master of their learning, as well as of their government, manners and customs, Ludolphus also proceeded to write their History in Latin. This is the work which John Philips has translated: it appeared on the continent in folio in 1681, and the English version was issued from the press in the following year. CHAP. IX. 1682.

This translation is rather of a different nature from those which he had previously made from the French, and was perhaps in some measure the occasion of his becoming more connected with the learned men of his times, and engaging in concert with them in some works, which were called for by the public at this period. In 1683 appeared the first volume of a translation of Plutarch's Lives, by several hands, with Dryden at their head: and, encouraged by the favourable re- 1683. 1684.

CHAP. IX. 1684.

ception of this undertaking, in the year following a similar translation of Plutarch's Morals was set on foot by another bookseller. Several of the writers engaged in the two works were the same, particularly the learned Creech, and Dr. Knightley Chetwood, the intimate friend of Dryden. To these persons from the squadron who translated the Lives, several able auxiliaries were added for putting the Morals into English, and among them appears the name of John Philips. In the successive volumes, the last of which was published in 1690, there are no fewer than nine essays translated by him, a greater number than was undertaken by any other individual. In the first volume we find an Essay concerning the Ancient Musick confided to him (a subject to which he was particularly attached); and to this he has annexed curious notes, and has subjoined a comparative view of the "Ancient and Modern Musical Scale, connected with their respective Names for the Notes."

One striking distinction to be found between the two translations of the Lives of Plutarch, and of his Morals, is that the former professes itself a tory translation, whereas the labour of the latter seems principally to have fallen among the whigs. The former is ushered in with a dedication by Dryden, in which he barbarously insults over the fallen liberties of his country, and appears to anticipate with approbation the destruction of Algernon Sydney, lord Russel, and so many others who fell victims to the sword of the law as wielded by the humane Jefferies. The five volumes of the translation of Plutarch's Morals are respectively dedicated to five bishops, two of whom were afterward among the seven bishops sent

by king James to the Tower, and a third is Stillingfleet, the redoubted advocate of religious freedom, and the conferring of whose mitre was one of the first acts of the ecclesiastical administration of William the Third. This circumstance however has not prevented a compliment to Dryden from being inserted by the editor, Matthew Morgan, in his Preface, where, alluding to the biography of Plutarch himself, he says, "that has already been done by an incomparable hand." This translation of Plutarch's Morals experienced considerable success, and passed through several editions. CHAP. IX. 1684.

It is somewhat remarkable, that Edward Philips, who is represented by Wood at this very time [1684 and 1685] as "out of employment, and writing and translating several things merely to get a bare livelihood," and who may be supposed, from his Appendix to Buchlerus, and the different functions in which he had been engaged, to have been not less competent to the task than his younger brother, eludes our enquiries here, and was not included in the number of literati, who were invited to contribute their part to the translations from the Greek which were published at this period.

A young person, a dealer in books, who is in the habit of frequenting the principal sales of the metropolis [Mr. Thomas Rodd], has kindly put into my hands, while this work is in the press, a very scarce book of the date of 1684, entitled "The Art of Physick made Plain and Easie, translated out of the Latin of the Learned D. Fambresarius, Physician to the Most Christian King: by J. P. Gent." There is no rea-

CHAP. IX. 1684.

son to doubt that the translator of this work is the younger of the nephews of Milton.

It is perhaps an unparalleled example of typographical error, that in this volume the name of the author is misprinted in the title-page, a circumstance which occasioned me some trouble in discovering the original from which the translation is taken. The true name of the author is Framboisiere, which in his title-page he has Latinised into Frambesarius; and though under this disguise I could gain no intelligence of him from the medical men among whom I enquired, he was undoubtedly a person of considerable eminence in his time. His works are collected in a handsome folio; and the treatise in question, entitled *Scholæ Medicæ*, passed through at least six editions, the last of which is preceded by two hexastichs from the pen of Guy Patin, himself a physician, and who is reckoned among the celebrated wits of the age of Louis the Fourteenth, in which he prophesies to Framboisiere an eternity of fame, and considers the life and health of mankind throughout the world as having derived additional energy from his professional investigations.

The *Scholæ Medicæ*, in the sixth edition, printed in 1636, consists of 760 closely printed duodecimo pages, and appears to be a work of elaborate execution. The object of it, is to furnish the students of medicine with such hints and information with respect to every branch of their profession, as may enable them to pass the examination for their bachelor's degree with credit; and to furnish the bachelors with the further intelligence that may be required of them, when they shall

proceed to take the degree of doctor. The whole book therefore is, if I may so express myself, dramatically arranged, the dean of the college and other professors being introduced as proposing the questions, and the candidate as returning the necessary answers. Framboisiere states that, in consequence of the universal approbation his book has received, and its being adopted as a text-book through all the colleges of France, he had been encouraged to extend it to double the size it had when first published. It is written perhaps in a form too dialectical and disputatious for the taste of the present day, but seems in other respects to be a work of considerable perspicuity and skill. In John Philips's translation however it is disgracefully maimed; the whole is comprised in 137 duodecimo pages; and the parts which relate to anatomy, to the methods of cure, and to the practical application of medical science, with several others, are wholly omitted.

In 1683, John Philips likewise published a translation from the French, of a Tour to Constantinople by Guillaume Joseph Grelot, in one volume, octavo; and in 1685 Edward Philips translated a small piece, entitled The History of the Minority of St. Lewis.

CHAPTER X.

ACCESSION OF JAMES THE SECOND.—HE IS ADDRESSED BY JOHN PHILIPS IN A STRAIN OF GROSS ADULATION.—TRANSLATION OF *DON QUIXOTE*, BY THE SAME.—PRINCIPLES OF CRITICISM IN TRANSLATION DISCUSSED. TRANSLATION OF HOMER, BY GEORGE CHAPMAN—OF PLUTARCH, BY SIR THOMAS NORTH—OF CERVANTES, BY MABBE—OF VIRGIL, BY PHAER.—JOHN PHILIPS'S TRANSLATION APPRECIATED.—PAMPHLET AGAINST PARKER, BISHOP OF OXFORD.—FOLIO EDITION OF *PARADISE LOST*.

CHAP. X. 1695.

CHARLES the Second died on the sixth of February 1685. These may indeed be emphatically said to be "the times that tried men's souls." It was a fearful stand that had been made by the friends of English liberty and Protestant religion in the affair of the bill of exclusion. If they succeeded, they might comfort themselves with the reflection, that by timely precautions they had warded off incalculable perils and calamities from their country. But they were environed at every step with the perils of treason; and if they failed, might expect the strictest and most sanguinary retaliation. Greatly is it to be regretted, that so many of the persons engaged in this generous cause should have been influenced by narrow and private motives, should have adopted the worst methods, and above all should have stained their memories by a connection with, not to say a subornation of, the wretched Oates and his brother witnesses. The scene ended however, for the time, in

their complete discomfiture. The reign of Charles the Second knew no more parliaments after the dismissal of the Oxford parliament in 1681; vengeance, shameless and unrelenting, was exercised on the opposers of the court; and to close the whole, James duke of York, whom they had been so anxious to exclude, and whose future authority Charles had consented to fetter with limitations, ascended the throne armed with the full and unqualified powers which an English king by fair means or otherwise could exercise.

Those who had been hitherto thought to nourish a wise and provident love for their country, had but three modes of proceeding out of which they were reduced to chuse. They might acquiesce silently, in hopes of better times; they might engage in secret cabals, and endeavour to hold their friends and allies together against the first favourable opportunity that should occur; or, resigning all hopes of hereafter asserting the best interests of England, they might seek to make the best bargain for themselves with the party in power. John Philips, in common with many from whom better things might have been expected, embraced the latter of these expedients. Immediately on the death of Charles, he produced what was then called a pindaric ode, under the title of "An Humble Offering to the Sacred Memory of the late Most Serene and Potent Monarch, Charles the Second," printed in Folio, for Randal Taylor. Mr. Narcissus Luttrel has marked his copy[a] as purchased on the twenty-eighth of February, about three weeks after the death of the king.

[a] In the collection of Mr. Bindley.

CHAP. X. 1685.

In this poem the virtues of the deceased sovereign are spoken of in the most extravagant terms; and John Philips has invented a new species of adulation, of which I do not remember any other example. In his zeal for the distinction of ranks and the glory of kings, he makes Charles carry it with him to heaven:

> "Where his dominions full as far extend
> In blissful rule and undisturbed command:"

for which he assigns this pithy reason,

> "Exalted bliss, that never wants,
> Can ne'er impair
> The sovereign dignity of royal saints."

The elegiast gives up his former associates in the following opprobrious terms:

> "Was our sweet sovereign's mercy such a crime,
> To move your eager gall?
> Yes: all was criminal,
> Which they themselves had forfeited.—
> Must the faith's true defender bleed to death,
> A sacrifice to Cooper's[b] wrath?
> Must God's Anointed lose his sacred blood,
> To gratifie a cursed brood
> Of joiners,[c] catchpoles, and a priest of Baal?"[d]

Among the other virtues of Charles, John Philips has even the effrontery to celebrate

> "His preserving cares,
> So nobly to supply his throne."

[b] Lord Shaftesbury. [c] College. [d] Fergusson.

Delighted however as he is with Charles, he no less, like a true courtier, pants with admiration of James.

"When Providence these miracles had wrought,
One now remained, already then designed
(For Providence does not work by rote),
To call our monarch to eternal bliss,
And leave his parallel behind."

Charles, with a prophetic eye, foresees the future happiness of England under his successor, and dies contented.

"While now, distracted by the change,
We knew not whether to rejoyce or mourn.
At length we mourned, rejoyced, rejoyced, and grieved,
And thus our joys our sorrows still relieved.—
And when we see him crowned with all his beams,
Let's not forget our second Charles,
But honour and obey our second James."

We are also informed by Winstanley, that John Philips composed one at least (for I am not confident that I have drawn out the biographer's meaning, amidst the perplexities of his grammar) of the Anniversaries, poems either for the new year or the king's birth-day, performed at court under the reign of James the Second, and set to music by Dr. Blow. This ode, or these odes, I have not met with; but we may be sure, from the specimen of his Elegy on the Death of Charles the Second, that the strain of the writer was sufficiently panegyrical. Dryden at this time was poet laureat; but Dryden was fortunate in this respect, that in his time it was not regarded as the duty of the person holding this appointment, to produce his annual tribute of verse in praise of the king, his family, and his ministers. Of those handed down to us during

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this period, some were written by sir Charles Sedley, by Motteux, and by Prior; and it was not till the reign of Tate and his successors, that the production of two odes annually came to be considered as a duty annexed to the situation of poet laureat to the king.

1685.

1687. In 1687 John Philips published what may in several respects be considered as an important work, a new translation of the History of Don Quixote. Hitherto there had been no English version of this distinguished monument of genius and literature among the moderns, except the translation of Thomas Shelton, in two volumes quarto, the first of which was published in 1612, being a translation of so much of the original as was at that time printed, and the second in 1620.

It is well known to be the practice of booksellers, to bring out from time to time new translations of classical and standard works. Nor indeed, professionally considered, are they to be blamed for this, if we take into account the great portion of the public, whose fancy leads them to the purchase of new books in preference to old ones, or who absolutely demand to have the established works of other ages and countries, "made English," as John Philips phrases it in his title-page, "according to the humour of our modern language."

Translation however ought to be considered in a very different light by scholars, and men to whom literature is their chosen occupation, than that in which it is thus regarded by persons to whom books are an amusement, or an elegant piece of furniture only. Translation is the parent, or more accurately speaking, the nurse, of all modern languages, from whose fostering breast they derive the soundness, the vigour

and the health, that render them at once the delight and the accomplished ministers of all by whom they are spoken or written. To translation we are indebted for much of what is most excellent and important in our vernacular speech; and translation, considered in this point of view, is a fundamental branch of true learning. Chaucer, Lydgate, Skelton and Surry, the fathers of our literature, were all eminent translators; and it is to our version of the Bible that we are above all things indebted for the sober, majestic and copious flow of our English tongue. CHAP. X. 1687.

Translation, merely as translation, would form no branch of reading to a scholar, merely in as far as he was a scholar; but, considered as the faithful repository of the history of a language, it is of inexpressible importance. Translation in itself is a dim and obscure medium, through which we become feebly acquainted with the merits of an original work. No man therefore would almost deign to look upon a translation, except so far as he had no other way in which to obtain a knowledge of the original it pretends to represent. This character may be considered as applicable to all translations at the time they are presented to the world. But an obsolete translation is a very different thing. It is an object avoided by the fop and the fine lady; but it is precious to the man of taste, the man of feeling, and the philosopher. In the old English Homer for example, I have some pleasure, in as much as I find Homer himself there; but I have also an inestimable pleasure added to this, while I remark, and feel in my inmost heart, the venerable and illustrious garb in which he is thus

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brought before me. This further pleasure I have, which I could not find even in the original itself.

The translation of Homer, published by George Chapman, in the reign of queen Elizabeth and king James, is one of the greatest treasures the English language has to boast. This man had a deep and true feeling of what a poet is, when he appears, as Milton styles it, "soaring in the high region of his fancies, with his garland and singing robes about him." This is conspicuously shown in his preface, notes, and dedication, from the latter of which take the following example.

> "As in a flourishing and ripe fruite tree,
> Nature hathe made the barke to save the bole,
> The bole the sappe, the sappe to decke the whole
> With leaves and branches, they to beare and shield
> The usefull fruite, the fruite it selfe to yeeld
> Guard to the kernell, and for that all those;
> Since out of that againe the whole tree growes:
> So, in our tree of man, whose neruie roote
> Springs in his top; from thence, euen to his foote,
> There runnes a mutuall aide through all his parts,
> All joyn'd in one to serve his Queene of Arts [the soul].
> In which doth Poesie, like the kernell, lie
> Oscur'd; though her Promethean facultie
> Can create men, and make euen death to live;
> For which she should liue honor'd; kings should giue
> Comfort and helpe to her, that she might still
> Hold up their spirits in vertue, make the will,
> That gouernes in them, to the power conform'd,
> The power to justice."

Not to dismiss this subject, without some illustration that may tempt the reader who has not considered these things to look farther, it may be proper to present two short examples

of the magnificence of the style of our old English translation as exhibited in Chapman, contrasting it at the same time with the parallel version of the same places in Pope. In the twentieth book of the Odyssey, Philætius, one of the faithful servants of Ulysses, sees his master in his beggar's habiliments without knowing him, and struck with something awful in his appearance, eagerly enquires of Eumæus, who the stranger is; but, without waiting for an answer,

> " Thus coming to him; with a kinde of feare
> He tooke his hand; and (touch't exceeding neare
> With meere imagination of his worth)
> This salutation he sent lowdly forth."

Thus Chapman: and in the following manner the idea is expressed by Pope,

> " Then affable he thus the chief address'd,
> Whilst with pathetic warmth his hand he press'd."

In another passage, where Eurymachus, one of the suitors, reproaches the seeming beggar, Ulysses, with his idle way of life, and bids him go, work for his subsistence, Ulysses replies,

> " I wish, at any worke we two were tryed,
> In hight of spring-time, when heavens lights are long;
> I a good, crook'd sithe, that were sharpe and strong;
> You such another; where the grasse grew deepe;
> Vp by day breake, and both our labours keepe
> Vp til slow darknes eas'd the labouring light;
> Fasting all day, and not a crum til night;
> We then should proue our either workmanship:
> Or, if againe beeves, that the goad or whip
> Were apt t' obey, before a tearing plow;
> Big, lusty beasts, alike in bulke and brow,

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Alike in labour, and alike in strength;
Our taske foure acres, to be till'd in length
Of one sole day; againe then you should try
If the dul glebe before the plough should flye,
Or I a long stitch could beare cleane and euen:
Or lastly, if the guide of earth and heauen
Should stir sterne war vp, either here or there;
And that at this day I had double speare,
And shield, and steele caske fitting for my browes;
At this work likewise, midst the foremost blowes,
Your eyes should note me."

It is thus that Pope translates the same passage.

"To whom incens'd: Should we, oh prince, engage
In rival tasks, beneath the burning rage
Of summer suns; were both constrain'd to wield,
Foodless, the scythe along the burthen'd field;
Or should we labour, while the ploughshare wounds,
With steers of equal strength, th' allotted grounds;
Beneath my labours how thy wondering eyes
Might see the sable field at once arise!
Should Jove dire War unloose, with spear and shield
And nodding helm I tread th' ensanguin'd field,
Fierce in the van; then, wouldst thou, wouldst thou, say,
Misname me glutton, in that glorious day?
No; thy ill-judging thoughts the brave disgrace;
'Tis thou injurious art, not I am base."

I am not willing to load so plain a question with criticism: but can any thing be more spirited, free, and full of animation and enthusiasm, than the version of the elder poet? And, on the other hand, can any thing be more vapid than the lines of Pope? What can be more flat, and void of character and propriety, than the words, "affable," "with pathetick warmth," "the burthen'd field," "the sable field," "the ensanguin'd field,"

and the "wounds of the ploughshare?" "Thy thoughts the brave disgrace:" disgrace whom? the speaker, or the hearer? it is all ambiguous and ineffective. And then "disgrace the brave;" how poor and prosaic! It must be acknowledged however that the whole is in keeping, no one part, by its energy and soul, throwing contempt upon another. Give me the language of feeling, of real passion, of generous passion; or else it will be in vain to tell me, that your style and manner is in the true poetical vein!

The French critics are so fully impressed with the principles here stated on the subject of translation, that they all with one voice acknowledge Amyot, who lived and died in the sixteenth century, for the prince of all their writers in that department of literature. The old English translation of Plutarch's Lives by sir Thomas North, published in 1579, has the disadvantage of being avowedly taken from the French of Amyot; and yet I must confess, till this book fell into my hands, I had no genuine feeling of Plutarch's merits, or knowledge of what sort of a writer he was. The philosopher of Cheronea subjects himself in his biographical sketches to none of the rules of fine writing; he has not digested the laws and ordonnance of composition, and the dignified and measured step of an historian; but rambles just as his fancy suggests, and always tells you without scruple or remorse what comes next in his mind. How beautiful does all this show in the simplicity of the old English! How aptly does this dress correspond to the tone and manner of thinking in the author! While I read Plutarch in sir Thomas North, methinks I see the grey-headed philosopher, full of information and anec-

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dote, a veteran in reflection and experience, and smitten with the love of all that is most exalted in our nature, pouring out without restraint the collections of his wisdom, as he reclines in his easy chair, before a cheerful winter's blaze. How differently does all this appear in the translation of the Langhornes! All that was beautiful and graceful before, becomes deformity in the finical and exact spruceness with which they have attired it.

Perhaps the most perfect specimen of prose translation in our language is to be found in the Six Exemplary Novells of Cervantes, turned into English by James Mabbe, and not published till 1640. The smooth and copious flow of eloquence of the original author, with its fresh and summer stream just so much disturbed as to sparkle with the reflection of his mighty mind, could not be shown more consummately than it is in the book. Here too we distinctly see the chaste and virgin purity of his spirit, giving an inconceivable venerableness to all the melodious strains it dictates to his pen.[e]

Enough has not yet been said in praise of our early translations. Dr. Johnson has observed, that, "before the time of Dryden, we had no poetical diction, no system of words refined from the grossness of ordinary use. Those happy combinations of words which distinguish poetry from prose had been rarely attempted; we had few elegances or flowers of speech; the roses had not yet been plucked from the bram-

[e] In this slight enumeration, certainly the exquisite translation of Mornay's "Worke concerning the Trewnesse of Christian Religion," by sir Philip Sidney and Arthur Golding, ought not to be passed over unnamed.

ble." There is considerable truth in this. Enviable calamity of our ancestors! They were reduced to the using the language of real nature and real passion, even in their happiest flights of originality and invention. They never dreamed, good, easy souls! that there were "happy combinations of words distinguishing poetry from prose." The men they introduced in their poems spoke the language of living men, and their descriptions of things were painted at first hand from the scenes themselves. Shakespear was not afraid to make Hotspur talk of being "nettled and stung with pismires," and Macduff groan over the calamity, that the "hell-kite" Macbeth had carried away "all his pretty chickens and their dam, at one fell swoop." But we are better taught: we venture on nothing of this: we practise the decorums; and whether we grieve or exult, we do all according to the strictest rules of Bossu. We keep the line of those "poetical combinations of words," in which the prose affairs of life were never expressed, and the real passions of the human heart never conveyed themselves. We are trained in the lessons of a rigorous master, and do not venture to look at either man or nature, but through the "spectacles of books." Thus all modern poetry is nothing but the old, genuine poetry, new vamped, and delivered to us at second, or at twentieth hand; the fresh breeze of heaven tainted with the unwholsome air of the schools, and the lively hues of reality tarnished and extinct.

Having spoken of Chapman's Homer, I will venture to add a word or too of Phaer's translation of Virgil, the most won-

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derful depositary of living description and fervent feeling, that is to be found perhaps in all the circle of literature.

Previously to the introduction of extracts from this work, it may be fair however, as the subject is a new one to many readers, to state the sentiments of two eminent modern critics on the versification of this and other the most considerable translators of the age of Elizabeth. Warton[f] says, "The popular ear, from its familiarity, was tuned to this measure. Whatever absolute and original dignity it may boast however, at present it is almost ridiculous, from an unavoidable association of ideas, and because it necessarily recals the tone of the versification of the Puritans," meaning the Old Version of the Psalms of David. Dr. Johnson,[g] on the contrary, speaking expressly on the same subject of Phaer's translation, and referring to the practice of Sternhold and Hopkins, which breaks each line into two, observes, "it was thought in time commodious to divides the lines, and this division has given birth to the most soft and pleasing of our lyrick measures." These opinions are not brought forward here, with the least wish to prejudge the cause in the mind of the reader, but that between the weight of these two mighty names, he may come unbiased to the perusal of these specimens.

Nothing in language or conception can be more wonderful, than the style in which Phaer treats of the last day of the existence of Troy. Æneas having been an eye-witness of the death of Priam, the narrative proceeds:

[f] History of English Poetry, Vol. III. Sect. xl. [g] Life of Dryden, *sub finem*.

" Than first the cruell feare me caught, and sore my sprites appalde,
And on my father deere I thought, his face to minde I calde:
Whan slaine with grisly wound our king, him like of age, in sight
Lay gasping dead.—
" And now alone was left but I, whan Vestas temple staier
To keepe, and secretly to lurke, all couching close in chaier,
Dame Helen I might see to sit; bright burnings gave mee light,
Where euer I went, the waies I past, all thing was set in sight.—
" These things within my selfe I tost, and fierce with force I ran;
When to my face my mother great, so brim[h] no time till than,
Appearing, shewed her selfe in sight, all shining pure by night,
Right goddesse like, with glorie such as heavens beholds her bright.
So great with majestie she stood, and me, by right hand take,
She staied; and red as rose with mouth these words to me she spake.
' My sonne, what sore outrage so wilde thy wrathful mind up steeres?—
It is not Helens face of Greece this towne, my sonne, hath spilde,
Nor Paris is too blame for this: but gods with grace unkinde,
This welth hath ouerthrowne, and Troy from top to ground ontwinde.
Behold, (for now away the cloud and dim fog will I take,
That over mortall eies doth hang, and blind thy sight doth make).—
In yonder place, where stones from stones, and bildings huge to swey
Thou seest, and mixt with dust and smoke thick stremes of rekings rise,
Himselfe, the God Neptune, that side doth turne in wonders wise.—
Lo, there againe, where Pallas sits on fortes and castle towres,
With Gorgons eies, in lightning clouds inclosed, grim she loures.
The Father God himselfe to Greekes their mightes and courage steres,
Himselfe against the Trojan blood both gods and armour reres.'—
Thus said she,—
Appeares the grisly faces than, Troyes enmies, vgly dight,
The mighty powres of Gods.
Than verily right abroad I saw whole Ilion castles sinke
In fiers, and vpsodown all Troy from bottom turne to brinke."

Æneas then hastens, as directed by his goddess-mother, to the relief of his father, his child, and his wife. Great is

[h] clear.

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his disappointment, when he finds Anchises absolutely refuse to remove.

" My father after Troy destroyed no longer life desiers,
Nor outlaw would he none become. ' O you, whose youth requiers
To liue, and blood in lust upholds,' quoth he, ' your limmes to weelde,
Take you your flight.
For, as for me, if Gods aboue would life haue had me led,
This place they would have kept mee.' "

Æneas, mad with anguish, blaspheming his goddess-mother who had sent him on a bootless errand,

" that in my parlour flores
Mine enmies I must see to kill my folkes,—
Ascanius my childe, my wife Creusa', my father olde,
All sprauling slaine, with blood in blood imbrued,"—

hastens once more to plunge himself into the thickest of the tumult.

" Behold at the entry gate my wife, embracing both my feete,
Doth kneele, and vp to mee she holdes my child, Ascanius sweete.—
Whan sodeinly, right wonder great to tell, a monster falles.
For euen between our hands, and right before our face in sight,
Beholde, from out Ascanius top a flame ariseth bright,
And harmeles lickes his lockes, and soft about his temples feede:
We straight his burning hair gan shake, all trembling, dead for dreede,
And waters on the sacred fiers to quench anon we sheede.
" But than my father Anchises glad, to heauen doth lift his eies,
With hands vpthrowne against the stars, and voice exalted, cries:
' Almightie Joue, if mans respect or praiers thou dost regard,
Behold vs now this once, and, if our deedes deserue reward,
From henceforth, father, helpe us sende, and blesse this grace with more.'
" Skant from his mouth the word was past, whan skies aloft to rore
Began, and thunder light was thrown, and down from heaven by shade
A streaming star desends, and long with great light makes a glade.
We looking, brim behold it might, and ouer our house it slips,
And forth to Ida woods it went, there down it selfe it dips,

Us pointing out the way to flee; than straking light, along
Doth shine, and, broad about, it smokes with sent of sulphur strong.
" Than straight my father, ouercome, him selfe aduauncing welds,
And prayeth his gods, and worship to that blessed star he yeelds.
' Now, now, no more I let, leade where ye list, I will not swarue.
Oh, countrey gods, our house behold, my neuew safe preserue!
This token yet is yours: yet Troy in your regard remaines.
I yeld me, son, nor further stay[i] with thee to take all paines.'"

It is perhaps impossible that any thing should exceed in animation the narrative of Ascanius's first exploit in war, in the ninth book. It is preceded by the invective in which Numanus reproaches the Trojans with effeminacy, too long to be inserted here, but certainly entitled to the deepest admiration.

" Him, cracking thus, and jangling more dispite, with odious songs,
Ascanius could not beare, but sinnowy bow of horsehide thongs
He bent, with pointed shaft,—
Before hie Joue he stands, and humbly thus with vowes he prayes.
' Almightie Joue, giue to my bold beginning good successe;
Unto thy temple shall I solemne gifts of offrings dresse,
A young steere, white as snow, with gilded front of liuely lust,
Hie headed like his dam, and with his horne desires to iust,
Alreadie strong, which with his feete vpsparkling spreeds the dust.'
The father aloft him heard, and, vnder cleare skie, left hand lowe,
Did signe of thundring shew: then, with a sound, from deadly bowe
The swift shaft whistling fled, and throgh sir Numans temples twain
It grisly strake. ' Go, go, mens manly deeds with mocks disdaine,
Twise captiue Troians (lo!) those answers Rutils sends againe.'
Ascanius spake but thus: the Troians then with joyfull voyce
All joyntly gave their shouts, and, lifting minds to stars, reioyce.
That time, as fortune was, brightheaded Phœbus for disport
Beheld, from airy coast, both Latines hoasts and Troian fort,
As hie on cloud he sat, and thus to Ascanius gaue report.

[i] hesitate.

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> ' Thats, thats my peerlesse lad, such vertues new leads lords to stars:
> Begotten of gods, and gods engender shalt; by right all wars
> Must vnder Dardanes line, in time, by destnie quite downe sinke,
> Nor Troy can thee containe.'—"

Equally fine is the exultation of grandsire Alethes, when Nisus and Euryalus come to make offer of their nocturnal expedition.

> " Gods, Gods, O countrey Gods! in whose protection Troy still steeres;
> You minde not, I perceiue, poore Troians yet to quench down rights,
> When such coragious youth, such brests so bold, so liuelike sprights,
> It pleaseth you to send."

How magnificent is the address of Ascanius to the "spring-old" Euryalus!

> " But, as for thee, O lad, to whom my yeres more nere do creepe,
> Thou reuerent, stately child, how deepe in brest I thee receive!
> Thou euer art my mate."

One of the most successful passages in Phaer's translation, is that of Virgil's eloquent commemoration of the death of Marcellus, in the sixth book; and whoever shall read this passage, will cease to wonder, that Octavia, his mother, Augustus, his uncle, and the whole audience, to whom Virgil repeated his lines, were so dissolved in tears, and agitated by the tenderness and force of the recital, as to make it impossible for the poet to proceed. But enough has been already offered to excite the reader to do justice to our elder translators in general, and to this translation of the Æneid of Virgil in particular.

But to return to John Philips, and his translation of Don Quixote. This is certainly a work of great power and spirit,

and in that respect well entitled to our attention. But, alas! it is the power and spirit of John Philips, and placed at an immeasurable distance from the character and style of Cervantes. The very soul of the translator was gross and fleshly, and loved to wallow in the mire of beastly allusions, and revel in the slang of the vulgar tongue. The liberties taken by him exceed upon the whole those of any translation I ever saw; and when he professes to give us Don Quixote, "made English according to the humour of our modern language," he understands this phrase with a fulness of interpretation that is perfectly astonishing; and a most anomalous piece of work he makes of it. Don Quixote is indeed in Philips, as he is in Cervantes and Shelton, a Spaniard and a native of La Mancha; but, to render him more thoroughly diverting to the readers the translator had in his mind, the allusions are always in the style of low and vulgar English. In the first page, Rozinante is likened to "a Dover post-horse:" the chief mourner at the funeral of Chrysostom tells Don Quixote, in answer to his praises of Dulcinea, "I have heard of the Trugg-mouldies of Wapping, and the Fussocks of Limehouse; but, to say truth, I never heard of the Toboso's of la Mancha before:" and the countess Trifaldi insists that, "before she meddles with such affairs, there must be a forenoon-walk to the Minories, Dukes Place, or St Kathern's [i. e. a private marriage], or at least a fair promise." To enumerate all the incongruities and absurdities of this sort were endless. The translator introduces Hobbes's Leviathan, and the Protector and his coach-horses, and converts Gines of Passamonte, the master-thief in the

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string of galley-slaves, into Dangerfield, one of the miserable decried witnesses of the Popish Plot.[k]

It is perhaps still worse than this, when John Philips nonsensically debauches the truth of romantic history, in which his author is so elaborately exact. In Cervantes, Cardenio in the paroxysm of his madness, comically breaks out into a charge of frailty against Queen Madasima, and Master Elisabat, the barber, her squire: while on the other hand Don Quixote, equally insensible to the frenzy of Cardenio, and the imaginary and unsubstantial nature of the personages he defames, challenges the maniac to fight him on this ground, and defies him for "a liar and a villain." These personages, the subject of the dispute, John Philips brutally and senselessly turns into "Tom Thumb and the Queen of Trumps."

But the greatest blot of the translation is the filthy and ribald obscenity with which it abounds. In the Masque at the marriage of the rich Camacho, Cupid is turned into Priapus, and plainly tells the audience in his song, that it is for his sake, and not for that of any sentiment or refinement, that the world runs mad with what they call love. But what is more incredible, in the sweet story of Dorothea, told with such undescribable delicacy by Cervantes, her song, as she bathes her feet in the brook, is made the occasion by Philips, of introducing the same horrible idea, which the English Dorothea expresses in the same shameless manner.

[k] Be it remembered, that the wretch here held up to posthumous ridicule, died in the first year of James's reign, by legal and fanatical torture, in the way which has been already mentioned.

One of the finest passages in this incomparable monument of Spanish literature and genius, is the defense delivered by the shepherdess Marcella, upon her unexpected apparition at the funeral of Chrysostom. The simplicity, the delicacy and the frankness of her reasonings, are altogether irresistible. This passage is beautifully given by Shelton in the translation of 1612. The venerableness of the style, the rich and easy eloquence with which it steals on the soul, are such as no modern language can equal. It is hardly necessary to add, that John Philips has interlarded this speech with his usual obscenity, at the same time carefully omitting every trace of the sacred and solemn chastity that characterises it.

It is also an intolerable license, where the translator foists a new clause into the will of the well-natured and sweetly-toned Don Quixote, by which he wantonly bequeaths his Rozinante to the parish scavengers, by way of retribution for his incontinency.

But enough of the deformities with which this work abounds. It remains to show that it is not without striking marks of energy and talent, nor in that respect unworthy of our notice.

Where the object of the original writer is plainly burlesque, here John Philips is at home, and flows with a vein not easily to be surpassed. Thus, when the bachelor Samson Carrasco comes, in the disguise of a knight-errant, to challenge Don Quixote, with a determination to carry his vaunts beyond all former examples of chivalry, the translator is sufficiently happy.

"In short, sir," says the bachelor, "by destiny or choice, I became enamoured of the peerless Rosamond of Turnbull-

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stretia. I call her peerless, because there was never any female in this world that ever equalled her in beauty and merit; but on the other side, if I may presume to say it, never any woman upon the face of the earth surpassed her in ingratitude. Whatever I could do, all the offers and protestations I could make her, could never bring her to take the least notice of my affection. She saw me willing to do any thing to gain her good will, and put me upon more desperate designs then Hercules himself was renowned for, still feeding me with hopes and promises, and still baffling my expectations.

"Once she sent me to challenge that same giantess of an hostess at Lincoln, so tall, that Ascapart himself could not kiss her, unless he stood upon a joynt-stool; and so strong, that she would drive twenty bailiffs before her at a time. I went, I saw, and overcame; and I made her down of her knees, and drink the pope's health, though she happened to be a heretick. Another time she commanded me to go and remove Stonehenge (which is a prodigious number of vast stones, every one as big as an ordinary castle) from Shaftesbury to Amesbury Plain. I did so, and there they stand to this hour. Then she ordered me to go and throw my self headlong into a hole in Derbyshire, called the Devil's Arse, and upon my return to tell her how far the bottom reached, which some vertuoso's in England would give ten thousand pound to know. I did so, and was above a month a falling; at length I pitched within three furlongs of the Antartick Pole, and was ten months before I could get into Ethiopia, and thence home agen. Yet after all this, the ingrateful Rosamond of Turnbullstretia called me coxcomb for my pains,

and bid me go about my business, for she had nothing more to say to me." CHAP. X. 1687.

From what has been stated, a sufficient idea may be formed of the whole translation. It is in a very gross style of buffoonery, poisoning, wherever that can poison, as is the case in a great majority of instances, the delicate conceptions, the chaste images, and the elevated and noble thoughts of the admirable original. At the same time it must be confessed that the buffoonery of John Philips is always vigorous and eloquent; it is not the baseness of one condemned by nature and necessity to crawl on the ground, but rather of one who makes vulgarity of style his choice, and voluntarily deserts the more elevated region in which he was qualified to move.

There is one other excellence to be mentioned as occurring in this translation. John Philips had been accustomed from the dawn of manhood to the composition of verse; and there are few specimens of more vigorous versification than the Satyr against Hypocrites. Long practice had made this a second nature to him, and therefore he does not, like most of the other translators of Don Quixote, fall immediately into a despicable character, when he is called upon to move to measure and prosody. His verses, however debauched in other respects, do not labour under the defect of a difficulty to write in verse. Examples of this may be taken from the commendatory poems, which Don Quixote is supposed to receive from Amadis de Gaul, Don Bellianis of Greece, and the other renowned champions of knight-errantry; at the same time that it should be remarked that these, as well as the work itself, are given with

CHAP. X. 1687.

an utter contempt of the laws of fidelity in translation. Amadis de Gaul concludes his compliment thus.

" By Styx, it cost me many a broken crown,
Many years toil, ere I could get renown:
But thou, great Quixote, just as horses run,
Hast all our wonders in a heat outdone.
To witty Benengeli thanks, who wrote
With the same spirit, that his champion fought;
While our damned hum-drum dotterels, dull John Dories,
Have rather digged our graves, than wrought our stories;
Fuel for Satan: May they burn as long,
They and their legends, as they 've done us wrong!"

The last of these prolegomena is a Dialogue between Rozinante, and Babieca, the war-horse of the Cid, which John Philips has turned, *pro suo more*, into Sancho Panza's ass. It closes as follows: perhaps the concluding line unconsciously suggested to Pope part of the first couplet of the Dunciad.

" *Roz.* Thy master's poor. *Ass.* Then, let me die,
I 'd rather him than some lords. *Roz.* How so?
Ass. Because the poor themselves are asses too,
And love the beasts that carry as they do.
Roz. How might I change? It is too late I fear.
Ass. Not so, if thou an asses voice wilt hear.
To England go, where fools are rich in purse;
There give it out, thou art Don Quixote's horse;
Thou shalt be sought, and bought, and taught to vault,
Then shown at fairs, for every one a groat;
Thus shalt thou live at ease, lamented die,
And Smithfield bards shall write thy elegy."

But one circumstance, that ought by no means to be passed over in silence, is that John Philips has contrived, agreeably

to the privilege of translation he assumes, to introduce into his Don Quixote the mention of Paradise Lost. In the sixteenth chapter of the Second Part of the work, where Don Diego de Miranda is giving a particular account of the tastes and preferences of his learned son, the author makes him say: "He spends whole days in his criticisms, whether Homer said well or ill in such a verse of his Iliads, whether Martial were bawdy or no in such an epigram, whether such or such a verse in Virgil ought to be understood in this way or that way. He is a great admirer of Horace, Persius, Juvenal and Tibullus: but of your modern writers he makes small account." To which Philips adds, "Among the rest, he has a particular pique against Du Bartas and Paradise Lost, which he says has neither rhyme nor reason."

I cannot perfectly satisfy myself, whether this passage were intended as a compliment or a slur to the great performance of the translator's venerable uncle. I hope it was designed as the former; I hope John Philips was at length disposed to make a tardy amends for his errors, and that he willingly embraced this occasion of atoning in some small degree for the galling slights and brutal insults he had put upon Milton. It seems reasonable to suppose that the translator had skill enough in composition, to be aware of the obvious construction and effect, so far as it should have any effect, of such a commemoration. But be this as it will, it certainly is a homage paid at the shrine of Milton's fame. It is not thus that an obscure and inglorious poet will ever be spoken of. We have here therefore one memorable additional instance of the

CHAP. X. eminent character to which Paradise Lost had attained, within twenty years from its first publication.[1]

1687. It may be an amusing piece of information to state that the English public had been satisfied with the original translation of Don Quixote by Shelton, from 1612, when it was first published, for seventy-five years; but the question of an improved translation having been set afloat by John Philips, there has succeeded an inundation of new experiments upon the work, by Stevens 1706, by Motteux *anno nescio quo*, by Ozell 1719, by Jarvis 1742, by Smollet 1755, and by Wilmot 1774.

John Philips's translation is dedicated to Paston earl of Yarmouth, treasurer of the houshold to king James the Second.

1688. In 1688 John Philips is understood to have published a slight anonymous pamphlet, entitled, "Samuel Lord Bishop of Oxon, his Celebrated Reasons for Abrogating the Test, and

[1] It must be observed however that in the *Duellum Musicum*, printed with Matthew Locke's Present Practice of Music Vindicated, 1673, John Philips takes occasion to declare his contempt of the "transcendent notions of Du Bartas."

If we consider the extreme favour in which the poems of Du Bartas, together with the translation of them by Joshua Sylvester, were held during the early years of Milton, we cannot fail to regard them as the sources of the first impressions our sublime poet received of the subjects afterward treated of in Paradise Lost: and in this point of view it must be entertaining to a curious mind to compare, in the Eden, the Imposture, the Furies, and the other pieces of Du Bartas, which run parallel to the different topics in this great poem, the rude essays of the French writer, sublime and energetic conceptions every where interrupted with unconscious burlesque and absurdity, with the unaltered majesty of Milton, whose chaste and elevated soul is never betrayed into meanness. Upon further examination therefore I retract the doubt expressed in the text, and feel persuaded that the malevolent spirit of John Philips joyfully took occasion from the inequalities and fustian of Du Bartas, to aim a wound at Milton, and to affect to involve both poets in one common censure.

Notion of Idolatry, Answered by Samuel, Archdeacon of Canterbury."

The object of John Philips's attack in these pages is the well-known Parker, whose Ecclesiastical Politie, and other works on the same subject, were the butt against which Andrew Marvel directed the shafts of his wit in his Rehearsal Transprosed. He was a broad and staring

> "..... figure, for the hand of scorn
> To point his slow, unmoving finger at;"

and John Philips was induced among the rest, to gall him with his arrows. In the works against which Marvel pointed his animadversions, and which were written early in the reign of Charles the Second, Parker pleaded the cause of intolerance in a broader and more shameless way, than perhaps had ever been done in any other instance by a man wearing the habit of a clergyman. Parker seems always to have adopted the language, and pursued the conduct, which in his judgment promised most fairly to lead to his promotion; and he had therefore very different measures to observe in the reign of James the Second, than those which his interest had dictated to him under Charles the Second. He was accordingly made bishop of Oxford in 1686; and father Petre, king James's confessor, even complains of him in one of his letters, that he demonstrated too sudden an inclination to embrace the old religion, to be likely to draw many others after him. He was also the man whom king James chose to appoint to the presidency of Magdalen College in Oxford, in so arbitrary a way as to set the whole kingdom in flame.

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This prelate, utterly forgetful of what he had written of the destructive consequences of toleration, voluntarily put himself forward on the present occasion, as a writer in defense of king James's Gracious Declaration of Indulgence for the Consciences of his loyal subjects; and John Philips has done little else in this pamphlet, than exhibit the reasonings of the Ecclesiastical Politie, and the other productions of Parker, at that time archdeacon of Canterbury, in answer to the present manifesto of Parker bishop of Oxford. With his usual good sense and measured style of controversy, our author commences his pamphlet with these words. "There is nothing hereby intended to impugn the abrogation of the test: May his majesty's sacred will and pleasure be fulfilled. But for the author of the Reasons for Abrogating the Test, it is necessary,——."

I am happy in this place to have occasion to contradict the wretched fancy of Dr. Johnson, respecting the progress of the character of Paradise Lost. "Its reputation," he says, "still advanced, till the Revolution put an end to the secrecy of love, and the poem broke into open view, with sufficient security of a kind reception."[m]

> "There's no such thing.
> It was the slavish temper of his soul,
> That shaped the baseless notion."

Man is not so poor a creature as Dr. Johnson imagines. Englishmen, however debased by the Restoration and the unprincipled politics of Charles the Second, were of too generous

[m] Lives of the Poets; Life of Milton.

aframe of spirit, to want to be taught by a king what they should admire, and to wait till a new revolution had unloosed their political fetters, before they would venture to give breath to their approbation. Even Philoxenus, the slave of the Sicilian tyrant, had the virtue to cry out, "Lead me back to the mines," rather than lend his voice to the lying commendation of the verses of his master. CHAP. X. 1688.

This silly idea regarding the fame of Paradise Lost, arose out of the circumstance of the folio edition of this poem, with plates, being first published in the year 1688. We have seen how frankly it was commended, by Mulgrave, by Roscommon, and even by the courtly Dryden, in his Preface to the State of Innocence. We have seen how Rymer in 1677 chose it for the object of his attack, next after the plays of Shakespear. Lastly, we have seen how John Philips calls on Milton's work, though perhaps

"with no friendly voice, and adds its name,"

fixing on this poem only, and another, among the works of the moderns, for the animosity of his carping critic. A production thus noticed, from various quarters, and with views of unlike and opposite nature, can afford little occasion for talk of the obscurity of its fame, and the "secrecy of love."

But let us come to the point which gave rise to the story. The folio edition of Paradise Lost was first printed in 1688, commonly called the year of the Revolution. King William landed on the fourth of November in that year; king James went into exile eight days before the close of the year; and the reign of his successor dates from the thirteenth of Fe-

CHAP. X. 1688.

bruary 1689. Mr. Malone has published a letter from Atterbury to Tonson, inclosing a list of subscribers to the work, which it appears was already nearly complete for publication, which letter is dated 15 November 1687. So that it comes out, that the publication of Paradise Lost in somewhat a nobler form, belongs to the blighted glories of the reign of James, of which that period has been unfairly stripped. It was then that the recommendation of the rising Somers induced Tonson to enter on the undertaking; it was then that the tory, but tasteful, Atterbury exerted his diligence in collecting subscriptions; and it was then that five hundred Englishmen recorded their names, as the zealous supporters of the fame of this great ornament of their native country. It was for the purposes of this edition, that Dryden, as it is usually understood, contributed the six lines of verse, which are now commonly found underneath the portrait of the author.

This edition, thus sedulously encouraged, forms a tangible era in the history of Paradise Lost. But it also affords a strong contrast between the ideas then and now entertained, of the sort of edition that is to do honour to a work. The plates are such as not to reflect credit in any way, upon the state of the arts at that time in Great Britain. The type is good; and the text moderately correct, as much so as the correctors of the printing-house were likely to make it. In all other respects the edition is entirely bare. It does not contain a line of prose, more than the "Reason why the Poem Rhymes Not," and the "Arguments," which Milton annexed to the later copies of the first edition. Though the two nephews of the author were yet living, no bookseller, no sub-

scriber, and no patron conceived the idea of obtaining any sketch of the life, habits and actions of the poet. The names of the nephews do not appear in the list of subscribers; and it is more than possible that neither of them were in any way consulted upon so obvious an occasion. The price of the book, as may be inferred from Atterbury's letter above referred to, was ten shillings.

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CHAPTER XI.

ACCESSION OF WILLIAM THE THIRD.—JOHN PHILIPS APPEARS AS EDITOR OF THE *MONTHLY MERCURY*.—*SECRET HISTORY OF CHARLES THE SECOND*.—AUBREY'S *LIFE OF MILTON*.—*LIFE OF MILTON*, BY EDWARD PHILIPS.—CHARACTER AND BEHAVIOUR OF MILTON'S LAST WIFE AND DAUGHTERS.—REPUBLICAN SONNETS OF MILTON.—EDITIONS OF HIS WORKS.—*LIFE OF MILTON*, BY TOLAND.—FURTHER TESTIMONIES.

CHAP. XI. 1688.

THE time was now come when the disastrous reign of the Stuarts was brought to its close. The most resplendent period of the English nation, was that, at which this family came out from the remoter north, to occupy the throne of these kingdoms. Great were we at that time in arts and arms. Never did genius and invention, all that is profound in research, or rich and commanding in language, or capacious and magnificent in poetry, so much abound among us. This was the age of grave and honourable manners, and of real politicians and statesmen. We could then boast of a Raleigh and a Bacon, of Coke, of Greville, of Selden, of Sackville, of Shakespear, of Jonson, of Fletcher, of Drayton, and many more, examples of what Englishmen were, and hostages and assurances, in appearance, of what they would be. But it pleased heaven to give a different event. The island was successively plagued with a sceptred pedant in the first place, a

wretch of coward heart and groveling dispositions, inspiring no man with awe, and cherishing no man with willingness, but such as were only distinguished by personal beauty, presumptuous aims, and insolent manners. Then came a sober, cold-blooded, ungracious successor, a lover of despotism as his father was, and of a saturnine temper to render the propensity more formidable in his breast. His sons have been sufficiently described; the elder remorseless, with an impudence of profligacy, political and personal, unknown to modern times; and the younger, still less human in his dispositions, with superadded to this, a fixed resolution to impose upon his country an unmitigated slavery, both civil and religious. CHAP. XI. 1688.

But here a distinction is to be made. The evils that occurred under the first two of these princes were not unattended with salutary consequences, and impressed the people of England with a deeper feeling of the value of liberty, than they might ever have learned under a more auspicious government. But the Restoration was an event of unmitigated calamity. The character of the English nation at this time became retrograde; and though the expulsion of the Stuart family to a certain degree reduced the disease, yet it is probable that the nation has never recovered that tone of independence, strong thinking, and generosity, which the Restoration so powerfully operated to destroy.

The English nation had now groaned under the Stuart yoke for nearly a century. The last attempt to fasten these chains upon us by a link never to be broken, put an end to the whole, and fixed the courage of the English nation, as one man, to

CHAP. XI. 1688.

endure this destiny no longer. The Revolution under king William was far from being characterised by any thing pre-eminently friendly to freedom in a political view, or to heroism of character. But its story is distinguished from that of all other revolutions favourable to the interests of mankind, by the simplicity with which it was effected. Methinks it was a beautiful spectacle, to see the prince of Orange, stadtholder of the United Provinces, a stranger to England, and with no natural ties to our nation, setting sail from his own shores, with his handful of an army, serenely confident that his means were such, as fully to secure the end he proposed. This is beyond all military victories. Victory in the field is for the most part the result of the confused contention of ordinary mortals, a struggle of joints and sinews, the sport of a thousand accidents. Add to this, victory in the field is misery and murder under a milder name, a means, however excellent the end may sometimes be, at which humanity shudders. But the war in which James the Second lost his crown was the war of the mind only. King William saw in calm and sagacious prospect, that the conquest was his own, and that, small as were his military means, he needed no more. And the people of England in like manner fought the momentous field with the mind only. They chose to be free from the inauspicious tyranny of a bigot; and they were free. Not a sword was drawn; not a drop of blood was spilled; and the campaign ended almost on the day that it commenced. This was a scene worthy of the rational faculties of man; and superior natures, if they looked down on this lower world, would have witnessed a con-

summation honourable to human nature, and not, what is too often exhibited before them, the wide-wasting havoc and enormities of maniacs and demons.

Upon the event of the Revolution, John Philips very naturally reverted to the political system (that of the whigs), which he had so warmly espoused, and in defense of which he had made somewhat a conspicuous figure, during the reign of the earl of Shaftesbury and Titus Oates. We hear nothing however of him or his literary history, till the autumn of 1690. For several months after the landing of king William, and the settlement of the crown in his favour, the state of public affairs had probably been felt to be in too fluctuating and uncertain a situation, for the speculators in literary traffic to undertake great things. At length, after a lapse of eighteen or twenty months, it began to be conceived that the system of government then in operation might be relied on for stability; and about this time a project was entered into between John Philips and certain booksellers, for the regular emission of a monthly political journal, to be entitled "The Present State of Europe, or a Historical and Political Mercury." The number first published was called the Mercury for August 1690, and the date of its licence is the twelfth of September.

The Monthly Mercury appears to have been a work of considerable reputation and success. It is called by Dunton, the bookseller, in the history of his Life and Errors, "one of the finest journals of the kind the world has ever seen." It was carried on by John Philips and his successors for nearly half a century; and early in the year which followed its first appearance, it was judged adviseable to render the work more

CHAP. XI. 1690.

complete, by publishing a preliminary volume, the narrative of which should commence with the month of November 1688. This volume is ushered in with a dedication to Henry viscount Sydney, principal secretary of state, younger brother to Algernon Sydney, the illustrious martyr to the cause of liberty in the disastrous days that terminated the reign of king Charles the Second. The dedication has the signature of John Philips; and in the course of it, he speaks of the period to which it relates, as "a series of months, which, though not commencing from the usual order of the kalendar, compose however a full year of jubilee, the most glorious that ever any was known in history, as being the compass of time wherein that revolution happened, which changed the whole face of Europe, saved the British empire from destruction and foreign conquest, and put a stop to the impetuous career of French ambition and depopulation."

The Historical and Political Monthly Mercury modestly calls itself a translation, "from the originals, published at the Hague, by the authority of the States of Holland and West Friesland." This however is an inaccurate account of the character of the work from which this journal is taken. What John Philips denominates "the authority of the states," is merely the "privilege," by which it was customary for a bookseller to protect his property against the piracy of any other person, attempting to print an edition, and vending it to the injury of the first proprietor. The title of the original is "*Mercure Historique et Politique;*" and it is no doubt the same work that Bayle speaks of in his *Lettres Choisies*, where he says, under the date of January 1691, "No one really

knows the author of our *Mercure Historique ;*" and the same assertion he repeats in a letter of the following year. If this journal had been published by the authority of the States, the author of it would have been known to some members of that body ; and then it is not to be supposed that a man of Bayle's extensive information would have been ignorant on the subject. It was therefore the speculation of some private individual, delivering such opinions as he thought would best promote the sale of his journal, or as his own judgment or partialities dictated to his pen. It was however a publication that circulated extensively, and was held in general esteem by the friends of public independence and of Protestantism. John Philips's journal appears to be for the most part a translation from the French original, with which however he occasionally takes considerable liberties, particularly under the article of "England." The work had undoubtedly a very prosperous success in its English dress, and gained its editor a certain reputation with a numerous class of readers, who pronounced, to borrow the phrase of Dunton above referred to, that "he translates incomparably well."

Wood has thought proper to name under the head of John Philips, what he calls "a vile piece," entitled the "Secret History of King Charles the Second and King James the Second ;" printed in the year 1690, of which, he says, John Philips "is supposed to be the author ;" and therefore it seems necessary to take some notice of it. It is certainly, as Wood has styled it, a vile piece ; but it is utterly inconsistent with every thing we know of the person to whom the Oxford historian imputes it, to suppose him to have had any concern in it.

CHAP. XI. 1690.

This piece of "Secret History" is indeed one of the most vulgar and despicable libels the press ever spawned, and appears to have been the production of some person previously qualified for his task by an unlimited share of fanaticism and credulity. John Philips, as has been already said, embraced, in the times of Lord Shaftesbury and of the Revolution, the tenets of the whigs. In his "Second Part of the Character of a Popish Successor," he reasons entirely on what are called the maxims of the English constitution, and deduces his argument from the repeated examples in which our parliament has for weighty reasons interfered with the order of the succession; at the same time taking care to express his abhorrence of the late usurpation and the deviating in any manner from the principles of our limited monarchy. But the author of the Secret History censures in the most pointed manner "those doting politicians, who were prevailed upon to recal Charles the Second, against that known and vulgar maxim of Common Prudence,

"..... *Regnabit sanguine multo,*
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio."

This observation occurs in the third page of his performance; and, as he advances further, he grows more furious and indiscriminate in his abuse. The great scope of the book is to blacken the character of James; and for that purpose the writer does not scruple to charge him with having been the author of the fire of London, with having originated the Popish plot of which Oates was the discoverer, with having first murdered Godfrey to save the life of Coleman, and after given up

Coleman to the vengeance of the law, and lastly, with having conducted the murder of the earl of Essex, and like Richard the Third in Shakespear, taking his post on the spot at the Tower, to see that the murder was effectually performed. The language of this performance is no less base and despicable, than the forgery of its incredible tales; and it is impossible that any man of discrimination will believe, that the well educated and literary John Philips would talk of "a truth so conspicuous, as stands in defiance of the ridiculing pen of R. L'Estrange to sham it over with the buffoonery of his bantering acquirements." CHAP. XI. 1690.

In 1694 Edward Philips, of whom we have heard nothing for ten, nor, except in some few things, now obscure or unknown, for twenty years, came before the public for the last time, in discharge of his final duties to his illustrious uncle. In this year he published a short "Life of Milton," which was prefixed by him to an English translation of the Letters of State, written by the poet, while he was Latin secretary to the Commonwealth and to Cromwel, and first printed in the original soon after the death of the author. To this volume he also annexed a copy, now for the first time published, of four sonnets, suppressed in Milton's Poems, as likely to give offense to those who were then in possession of the government. 1694.

This book was published by Edward Philips, without his name, but is ascribed to him by Toland, in his Life of Milton, 1698, published while the younger Philips was still living; and Dr. Birch tells us, that the copy consulted by him in writing his biography of Milton, had been presented by Ed-

CHAP. XI. 1694.

ward Philips to a friend, and appears, from a written note in the book, to have been the production of his pen.

The first printed account of the life of Milton made its appearance in Anthony Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, published in 1691; and the materials for this account were furnished by John Aubrey, the antiquarian, a man who had been a member of Harrington's Rota-Club in 1659 for perpetuating republican government in England, who was in habits of some familiarity with Milton himself, and who professes to have received most of the particulars from Milton, or "his relations after his death." The article therefore in Wood is undoubtedly of considerable value and authenticity.

But whoever knows how a dictionary, or repository of general information, is usually composed, will certainly be much gratified, that the life of our great English heroic poet was not left in such hands, and that an individual biographer, possessing every advantage for information, undertook the office, while the facts were yet fresh in the memory of survivors. Aubrey's memorandums appear to have been drawn up from memory only; with the addition perhaps of consulting some slight notes, which he might before have taken the precaution of committing to paper. It is clear that he did not even give himself the trouble of reading over for this purpose Milton's *Defensio Secunda*, in which the author has presented to the world so noble and interesting a sketch of the history of his early life. And whoever will compare Edward Philips's narrative with that of Aubrey, will readily perceive, that though in all leading points they agree, yet the nephew of the poet has added a variety of pleasing details, with which it would

be an irreparable loss to the man of liberal curiosity and taste not to be acquainted. All together, it is a monument of sober affection and veneration, such as the world has seldom witnessed in a case of such general interest; while the notes of Aubrey are to a certain degree stamped with the coldness of a bystander, or a clerk of the court, putting down such incidents as it might be afterward necessary to remember. The interest taken by Edward Philips in some points not very essentially connected with the reputation of his uncle, has indeed been a subject of merriment to Dr. Johnson: let the great leviathan sport himself among objects too delicate for the grossness of his organs! but in a man of a candid, and still more of a feeling mind, they will certainly awaken a very different sensation.

There is one point in Edward Philips's Life of Milton, in which, probably from the blameable facility of his temper, the nephew appears to take part against his uncle. I mean where he speaks of the daughters of Milton with apparent sympathy, and passes over his surviving wife with a negligent phrase, as a person, who "is said to be yet living." He had the partiality, so commonly to be found in every rank of life, to those, in whose veins, as in his own, flowed the blood of Milton, and cast off from his memory the relict of the poet, as an alien to his feelings. In the mean while the daughters are softly dismissed with the remark: "It would have been happy indeed, if the offspring of such a person had been made in some measure inheritrixes of their father's learning; but since fate otherwise decreed, the greatest honour that can now be

CHAP. XI. 1694.

ascribed to them is, to have been daughters to a man of his extraordinary character."

It is a very different feeling that is excited in us at present toward these daughters, by the scene opened to us in the affair of Milton's will verbally delivered to his brother, and by the depositions taken on that occasion,[a] from the sentiment here expressed by their kinsman. The daughters, who combined with the servants of Milton, to cheat him in their marketings, and sell his books to the dunghil-women, call forth a very moderated share of my sympathy; while I feel toward the wife, whose chosen occupation it was for the twelve years of their marriage, to surround her venerable, and in some respects helpless husband with every degree of domestic comfort and tranquillity, an eminent portion of honour and gratitude. We are not told her age; but as she survived her husband fifty-two years, she could not but have been a very young woman, thirty at the most, when Milton was fifty-four. To this woman we are in some degree indebted for Paradise Lost, and in a degree still greater for the Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes, which were first published in 1671. I am glad she had no children: her devotion to her husband was by this means made more entire; and there is something discordant in the spectacle of a father leaving the world loaded with years and infirmities, while his children have as yet scarcely set their foot on the threshold of life.

Milton's three daughters were living at the period of his

[a] See above, Chap. VI, p. 127, and following.

death; but the two eldest were already no more, when Edward Philips wrote their father's life. Deborah, the youngest, like the widow of Milton, survived her parent more than fifty years; she having died in 1727, and her mother-in-law in 1726.[b] CHAP. XI. 1694.

The better temper of the times in which this volume was published, in comparison with the reign of the later Stuarts, is sufficiently visible from the style adopted by Edward Philips in the Preface. Speaking of the Letters of State written by Milton, he is no longer afraid of doing justice to the heads of the republican government. Without affecting to entertain any partiality for the principles of their domestic politics, the translator expresses himself with firmness on their mode of conducting themselves toward foreign powers. "Here are no discussions," says he, "which of the contending parties were in the right; no justifications of the prosperous, nor conclusions from success. Here are only bare matters of fact, abstracted from the domestic broils and civil dissentions of the times. It only appears from hence, that a certain party of people, having by victory obtained the supream government of the kingdom, took the common methods of prudence and policy to strengthen themselves abroad by leagues and amities with foreign princes. Whatever they had done at home, they paid to all the European monarchs and potentates that deference which became

[b] See the Sermon, preached at Nantwich in Cheshire, at the Funeral of Mrs. Elizabeth Milton, in a Posthumous Volume of Sermons by the Reverend Isaac Kimber, under whose ministry she constantly attended during the latter years of her life. It is scarcely credible, that in this sermon not one word occurs that has relation to the deceased, and that it can scarcely be known to be a funeral sermon but from its title.

CHAP. XI. 1694.

'em: yet were they not so pusillanimously forward, [as] either to court foreign friendships, or to conclude any treaties, but to the advantage of the nation according to those maxims which they professed. And how severe soever they were to those they believed their enemies within doors, they were most careful not to suffer the merchants to be abused abroad, if either intercession or force could prevail." He concludes in an exemplarily just spirit, "To those at least who may be ambitious to be the English Thuanus's of succeeding ages, the verity of these letters will be a useful clue, so far as it reaches, to guide them through the labyrinth of forgotten story."

But the most memorable circumstance belonging to this volume, in the point of view in which we are now considering it, is, that here first were printed four Sonnets of Milton, to Fairfax, to Cromwel, to sir Henry Vane, and that to Cyriac Skinner that begins, "Cyriac, this three years day," which the despotism of preceding times had forced their admirers to perpetuate by the tradition of memory only, or to circulate in the secrecy of manuscript copies. How shocking in particular to the bigots of the Stuart party must have been the conclusion of the last!

"Cyriac, this three years day these eyes, though clear,
To outward view, of blemish or of spot,
Bereft of light their seeing have forgot;
Nor to their idle orbs doth sight appear
Of sun, or moon, or star, throughout the year,
Or man, or woman. Yet I argue not
Against Heavens hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope; but still bear up, and steer

Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask?
The conscience, friend, to have lost them, overplied
In liberties defense; my noble task,
Of which all Europe rings from side to side.
This thought might lead me through the world's vain mask,
Content, though blind, had I no other[c] guide."

These sonnets were long the favourites of the republican party after the Restoration, and being frequently transcribed, or repeated from memory, were at first printed with great incorrectness.[d]

[c] So Edward Philips and Toland. This word is poorly changed in the later editions into *better:* a very cold and obscure sense, making the author lament the misfortune of him who should have no better guide, than conscience and the sense of his integrity. The true interpretation is, that he who has these supporters, may be led by them safely and content "through the world's vain mask," even though he should be denied a charitable hand to direct his steps.

[d] I know not whether it is proper to notice a scurrilous imputation upon Milton, contained in a silly pamphlet, called the Secret History of the Calves Head Club, first published in 1703, and that has since been many times reprinted, in which the author of Paradise Lost is expressly named as the founder of this club, a society held annually on the thirtieth of January, to perpetuate under this symbol the execution of Charles the First. None of the biographers of the poet have stained their pages with the mention of this tale. Silence however is unfortunately liable to a double interpretation, and is sometimes construed as the offspring of shame, for what we could wish to have forgotten, but cannot deny. I refuse to subject myself to such a construction. The pamphlet itself is wholly destitute of any circumstantial statement; it names no one but Milton for an original member, and takes care to name him not upon the slender authority of the anonymous writer, but of a second anonymous personage from whom the writer says he received his information. Milton was a man of too much taste, refinement and humanity, to have taken any part in so brutal a commemoration; and even if these sentiments had been incapable of restraining him, certain it is that he fixed his attention with a holy enthusiasm on character and fame, and that no consideration on earth could have induced him to couple his name and his memory with so low, indecent and illiberal an act.

CHAP. XI.

To the catalogue of the writings of Edward Philips already mentioned, Wood has added A Poem on the Coronation of James the Second and his queen, in two sheets in folio, which I have not seen, and a translation from Greek into Latin, of Pausanias, or, as it stands in Wood's printed page, Pausanius. This last article is of a very doubtful nature. I have never heard of such a book; and upon enquiry from the best scholars now living, I find that they are in equal ignorance. It is very unlikely that a new version of this voluminous writer should be undertaken by Edward Philips, after the translations made by Amaseus and Loescherus in the middle of the sixteenth century, with which all subsequent editors of the Greek text have been so far satisfied, as to reprint them with a few corrections. It may even be doubted what it was that Wood intended to convey by this assertion. A translation of such an author as Pausanias, from Greek into Latin, was no trivial undertaking; and if it surpassed the versions that have now passed current for two or three centuries, without a sanguine hope of effecting which no man of sense would have undertaken it, the atchievement was calculated to do much credit to the scholarship of him who performed it, and did not deserve to be passed over with so slight and obscure a notice, as has been bestowed on it by Wood.

Winstanley also, in his article of Edward Philips, speaks of him as the author of Poems on Several Occasions; and Jacob, improving on this notice, says that he wrote Poems on Several Occasions, "collected into a volume." But this is probably a misapprehension of something that Wood has stated in his biography of our author, who in noticing his edition of Drum-

mond, has stated that "He also published Poems, London, 1656, oct." in so confused a way, that it is difficult from the mere inspection of the text to ascertain, whether Edward Philips wrote the poems, or was simply the editor of them. CHAP. XI.

The folio edition of Paradise Lost, published in the year before the Revolution, was again repeated in 1692; and a third time in 1695. In this edition it was accompanied with the Paradise Regained, and the Poems on Several Occasions; and the whole bore the title of the Poetical Works of John Milton. To complete this volume the Poems were now, I believe, for this time only, printed in folio: but the Paradise Regained and the Samson Agonistes in the collection, bear the date of 1688 (the year before the Revolution), and are printed for Randal Taylor, while the rest of the volume carries the note of being printed for Jacob Tonson. This circumstance respecting the Paradise Regained, which thus appears to have been sent to the press for the third time (the second edition was in 1680) before the accession of king William, is strongly in contradiction to the idea that this poem was singularly slow to raise itself into general observation and acceptance. 1695.

This sixth edition of Paradise Lost, printed in 1695, is also accompanied with a copious series of notes by Patrick Hume, which exhibit a considerable extent of learning; but the book contains in no part any allusion to the personal history of Milton, or to the existence of his nephews.

The fame of Milton was of that sort, that, the more he was in the public eye, and the more severely his works were ex- 1697.

CHAP. XI. amined, the more the pyramid of his honours became stable, and incapable of being subverted. There were persons, who, 1697. in the full blaze of his poetical glories, were willing to believe, that his merits lay there only, and that his genius deserted him "in the cooler regions of prose;" and even to this day among the superficial multitude of readers the same opinion continues to be received. The favoured few however were not long in detecting the error; and under their encouragement a folio volume was printed, containing the greater part of Milton's 1698. English prose, which bears the date of 1697. Almost at the same period the whole of Milton's prose, both Latin and English, was put to the press in three volumes, folio, with the date of Amsterdam, and a notice in the title page of each volume, signifying that the printing was "Finished in the Year 1698." It ought also to be mentioned, that an English translation of the *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, once the most obnoxious of his works, by Mr. Washington of the Temple, was published in 1692. There is likewise a reprint of Eikonoclastes, purporting to have been sent to the press at Amsterdam, which was published in 1690.

To the Amsterdam edition of Milton's Prose Works in 1698, is prefixed a Life of Milton by Toland, which in the following year was reprinted in London as a separate work. This is upon the whole perhaps the biographical monument, most in unison with its subject, that has yet been erected to the memory of Milton. There is a republican frankness, firmness and brevity in the style, which cannot but be highly gratifying to a well formed taste. Toland displays a just feeling of the

greatness and elevation of the mind of his hero, and treats of him as one would wish to see the noblest characters of Greece and Rome recorded for the use of posterity.

The writer expresses himself in the following manner respecting the documents upon which his narrative was founded. "The amplest part of my materials I had from his [Milton's] own books, where, constrain'd by the diffamation of his enemys, he often gives an account of himself. I learnt som particulars from a person that had bin once his amanuensis, which were confirm'd to me by his daughter now dwelling in London, and by a letter written to one at my desire from his last wife, who is still alive. I perus'd the papers of one of his nephews [Edward]; learnt what I could in discourse with the other [John]; and lastly consulted such of his acquaintance, as, after the best inquiry, I was able to discover."

There is something strange in the ambiguous way in which Toland speaks of the *papers* of Edward Philips. Did he actually consult this relic of biography in a manuscript state? Did he think it superfluous to point out the form in which it was to be met with? Or, did he hope, from the obscure shape in which it appeared, annexed to a translation of Milton's Letters of State, that it would altogether escape the curiosity of future ages?

It is gratifying to me to find that Toland conversed with John Philips, previously to the writing his Life of Milton. It was a proper attention to the nephew of the poet, which ought to have been paid at the time of printing the former editions of his works. I hope a just testimony was at this time rendered to the great ornament of English literature, by the per-

CHAP. XI. 1698.

son at that time living, most capable of describing him. At any rate, it is fair to conclude, that he gave at least an unwilling evidence in favour of his uncle; and we are sure that, if he uttered any thing in asperity, it produced no unfavourable impression respecting Milton in the mind of his excellent biographer.

There is a pleasure in transcribing the manly representations of Toland respecting the great works of Milton, which bring before us an example of the earliest, if not the fullest justice, that has ever been done to the writings of this wonderful man.

It is thus that he speaks of the *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, which was no longer considered by the historian as a disgrace to the name of its author, and worthy, with Buchanan's admirable treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, of being burned by the hands of the common hangman.

"And now we com to his master piece, his chief and favorit work in prose, for argument the noblest, as being the defence of a whole free nation, the people of England; for stile and composition the most eloquent and elaborat, equalling the old Romans in the purity of their own language, and their highest notions of liberty; as universally spread over the learned world as any of their compositions; and certain to endure while oratory, politics, or history bear any esteem among men."

The following is the judgment delivered by Toland concerning the Paradise Lost. "As to the choice of his subject, or the particulars of the story, I shall say nothing in defence of them against those people who brand 'em with heresy and impiety: for to incur the displeasure of certain ignorant and

supercilious critics, argues free thinking, accurat writing, and a generous profession of truth. As to the regularity of the poem, I never knew it question'd by any but such as would build themselves a reputation on the flaws and mistakes they discover in other mens labours, without producing any thing better or equal of their own. But the unparallel'd sublimity and force of the expression, with the delicacy of his thoughts, and the copiousness of his invention, are unanimously own'd by all. He has incontestably exceded the fecundity of Homer; nor did he com much short of the correctness of Virgil." CHAP. XI. 1698.

Lastly, the Samson Agonistes is described by the biographer, as "an admirable tragedy, not a ridiculous mixture of gravity and farce according to most of the modern, but after the example of the yet unequal'd antients, as they are justly cal'd, Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides." [I do not place here the opinion of Toland in favour of the Greek tragedians against Shakespear, for its justice, but to show how deep and appropriate a feeling the biographer entertained of the merits of his author.]

Such were the honours paid to the memory and writings of Milton, within twenty-four years of his death, within thirty-two years after the publication of Paradise Lost, and while his nearest and best informed relations were yet living to be witnesses to the encomium.

I will add here one or two more nearly contemporary testimonies, because I think it worth while to refute the vulgar idea that the author of Paradise Lost was indebted as it were for the commencement of his reputation to the pen of Addison. 1657.

CHAP. XI. 1657.

and the strange notion of Thomas Warton, that the smaller poems of Milton "long continued to remain in a state of neglect and obscurity, and for seventy years from their publication in 1645, are not once mentioned in the whole succession of English literature."

In confirmation of this statement Warton offers among others the following observations. "Nor is there the quantity of an hemistich quoted from any of these poems, in the Collections of those who have digested the Beauties or Phrases of the English Poets from 1655 to 1738, inclusively. The first of these, is the English Treasury of Wit and Language, by John Cotgrave, 1655. The second, the English Parnassus, or an Help to English Poesy, by Joshua Poole of Clare-Hall, 1657. And not to omit the intermediate labours of Bysshe and Gildon, the last, and by far the most copious and judicious compilation of the kind extant, is the British Muse in three volumes, by Thomas Hayward, with a good Preface by Oldys, published in 1738."

Cotgrave's book is a thin octavo volume, or rather pamphlet, and consists, I believe, entirely of extracts from the dramatic poets, chiefly from Shakespear. With respect to Poole's Parnassus Mr. Warton labours under a strange mistake. Milton's Poems on Several Occasions, published twelve years before, appear to be cited as often as the writings of almost any other author. Nearly the whole of the Ode on the Nativity is inserted in different extracts; the quotations from L'Allegro are copious; and lines are given from Lycidas, and other pieces: Mr. Todd says, "there are few pages in which quotations may not be found from Milton's poetry." That biographer refers

indeed to the edition of 1677; but the edition of 1677 is merely a reprint of the first edition, the book itself having been a posthumous publication. CHAP. XI. 1657.

That these poems should not be quoted in Hayward's British Muse in 1738, is no way extraordinary. Warton himself gives the reason for it, when he says, "This author professes chiefly to consider 'neglected and expiring merit, and to revive and preserve the excellencies which time and oblivion were on the point of cancelling, rather than to repeat what others had extracted before." For this reason there is not a word of Milton through the whole book. Hayward was far from suspecting, what Warton has discovered, that Milton, either in his larger, or his smaller poems, was a hidden treasure, or that his excellencies were among such as "time and oblivion were on the point of cancelling."

It is true that imitating an author is not exactly the same as "mentioning" him, though it is certainly a much higher tribute to his merit. In this way Warton himself has detected a memorable instance of profuse plagiarism from Milton's Poems, in Robert Baron's Cyprian Academy, published in 1647.[e]

I am further happy to rank among the early imitators of Milton's smaller poems the virtuous, the amiable Cowley. I will venture to ask any reasonable judge, whether the follow- 1656.

[e] Appendix to Notes on the English Poems. Another singular instance of plagiarism may be found in a pamphlet on the Liberty of the Press, by Charles Blount, author of the Oracles of Reason, which is inserted in his works. The greater part of this pamphlet is transcribed from Milton's Areopagitica. It was published on the expiration of a licensing act, and therefore probably in 1679.

CHAP. XI. 1656.

ing coincidence could come by chance? In Comus's song in Milton, the ensuing couplet occurs:

> "Braid your locks with rosie twine,
> Dropping odours, dropping wine."

One of the Anacreontiques of Cowley begins,

> "Fill the bowl with rosie wine,
> Around our temples roses twine."

In the tone of this, and one or two more of the Anacreontiques, there is a great resemblance of Milton; but with this difference, that even in the tipsey song of Milton there is a certain collectedness of sacred sobriety, while in Cowley, without admitting any ideas that are coarse and indelicate, the author seems all dissolved in carelessness and pleasure. Milton's Comus was performed in 1634; and Cowley's Anacreontiques were first printed in 1656.

1690. But to proceed from imitation, which is an undevout and irregular homage, to that which comes in the least questionable form. Not to repeat such testimonies as have already been recorded in our Seventh Chapter, there is no species of evidence that can be more decisive to the character and reception of a poet, than that which is afforded us by Hog's translation into Latin, of the Paradise Lost, the Paradise Regained, and the Samson Agonistes, which was printed in 1690; of the Lycidas, which appeared in 1694; and of the Comus, which was published in 1698.

1691. The Athenian Mercury, a periodical paper, commencing in 1691, had a high reputation in its time, and drew even from the pen of Swift a commendatory poem, entitled, An Ode to

the Athenian Society. In Volume V, No. xiv, of this work, a question is proposed, "Whether Milton and Waller were not the best English Poets? and, which was the better of the two?" a part of the answer to which question is as follows: CHAP. XI. 1691.

"Waller, though a full and noble writer, comes not up in our judgments to that *mens divinior, atque os magna sonaturum*, wherein we think Milton was never equalled. His description of the Pandæmonium, his battels of the Angels, his creation of the world, his digression of light, in his Paradise Lost, are all inimitable pieces; And even that antique style which he uses, seems to become the subject, like the strange dresses wherein we represent the old Heroes. The description of Samson's death, the artificial and delicate preparation of the incidents and narrations, the turn of the whole, and more than all, the terrible Satyr on Woman in his discourse with Dalilah, are undoubtedly of a piece with his other writings. And, to say nothing of his Paradise Regain'd,—in his Juvenile Poems, those on Mirth and Melancholy, an Elegy on a friend that was drown'd, and especially a Fragment of the Passion [probably by mistake for the Hymn on the Nativity], are incomparable."[f]

A volume was published in the year 1694, by Charles Gildon, entitled, "Miscellaneous Letters and Essays, Addressed to Several of the Most Eminent Persons of the Age." One of these is called, a "Letter to Mr. T. S., in Vindication of Mr. Milton's Paradise Lost," in which that poem is spoken of in the most becoming terms. 1694.

[f] Athenian Mercury, *apud* Sir Thomas Pope Blount, *De Re Poetica*, 1694. See also Athenian Oracle, Vol. I, p. 476, second edition.

CHAP. XI. 1694.

"If you maturely weigh," says Gildon, "how much deeper an impression those ancient, and consequently less intelligible words, phrases and similes, by which he frequently, and purposedly, affects to express his meaning, make on a reader's fancy, than such as are more common, you will pay a vast deference to Mr. Milton's great judiciousness in this particular, no less than to his entire manage of every part of that charming poem, in which upon every occasion he discovers himself a perfect, unimitable master of language. Here you are forced to give a profound attention to the Universal Creator, speaking like that Almighty, who by the fiat of his mouth made all things; and yet, so gracious are all his expressions, as if he valued himself more on his good will to Man, than on his prerogative over him. There shall you read Man, addressing himself submissively, like a creature who owes his being to a better, wiser and higher power, and yet not so abjectly, but you will easily perceive him to be Lord of the Whole Creation. Elsewhere you may see an Angel, discovering himself not a little Man's superior by creation, in place and power more, but in knowledge most of all. In another place behold Woman, appearing inferior to both these, and yet more ambitious than either, but then softer much in make and manners than her rougher spouse, whom downright sincerity and unaffected plainness seem most to delight. Nor can I now forget with what vast complacency we have oft together read the most natural, lively, yet (as their sexes) different descriptions our first parents separately make, of their own apprehensions of themselves, at their first finding themselves living creatures. Nay, the very Fallen Angels are much honoured, above the

best of their deserts, by the amazing relation we there meet with, of their ambition, malice, inveteracy and cunning: and never was a scene so livelily shown, as that of his Pandæmonium in the first book. If his matter requires a meaner style, how much soever he speaks loftily at one time, at another he does, even to a miracle, suit his speech to his subject. This, I well know, has been censured in him for servile creeping; but if it is well considered upon what proper occasion he thus humbles his style, it will be accounted, as really it is, his great commendation. CHAP. XI. 1694.

"I shall venture to add no more but this. Though the composing such a compleat poem, on such a no less obscure than weighty subject, was a task to be performed by Mr. Milton only, yet it is not out of doubt whether himself had ever been able so to sing of unrevealed, heavenly mysteries, had he not been altogether deprived of his outward sight, and thereby made capable of such continued, strenuous, inward speculations, as he who has the use of his bodily eyes cannot possibly become possessed with. This however must be granted as indubitably true: The bountiful powers above did more than make him amends for their taking away his sight, by so illumining his mind, as to enable him most compleatly to sing of matchless beings, matchless things, before unknown to, and even unthought of by, the whole race of men; thus rewarding him for a temporary loss with an eternal fame, of which envy itself shall not be able ever to deprive this Best of Poems, or its most judicious Author."

A still more decisive testimony to the reputation of Milton, is in the appearance of a book, by John Dennis, in the year 1696.

CHAP. XI. 1696.

1696, entitled, "Letters on Milton and Congreve." This man bore the appellation of Dennis the Critic, at a time when, from the novelty of this species of war against originality and genius, a Critic was held to be something; and his credit with the public in his day was at least as great as that of Rymer, the formidable champion who had threatened destruction to the Paradise Lost in 1677. Dennis, born in 1657, began his career as a gentleman who had spent his paternal inheritance in travelling, and other methods for improving his mind, and on his return to his native country was received into great familiarity with Dryden and other eminent wits of the age. In a more advanced period, he fell under the lash of Pope, he lived to great poverty and extreme old age, and which was most of all injurious to him, he became by degrees so irascible and abusive, that it was impossible for any man to continue his friend. But we are here to consider him as he was in his best days, when Dryden paid him court, Wycherley treated him as an equal, and Congreve addressed to him as a private letter his admirable "Discourse on Humour in Comedy," written in the same year as Love for Love, and only inferior in genius and discrimination to that exquisite production.

This publication of Dennis I have unfortunately not been able to obtain.[z] But we may discover sufficiently from his other critical productions about this period, which are numerous, in what way he was likely to have treated Milton, in a volume dedicated solely to his honour. In 1701 he pub-

[z] It is to be found in the Catalogue of the British Museum, but has been reported to me by the librarians as mislaid.

lished an essay, entitled "The Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry; a Critical Discourse." The chief object of this performance is to show, that religion, and the sublime feelings connected with religion, are the source of all that is most elevated and magnificent in poetry. In the early part of the work the author quotes Milton's description of the person of Satan in the First Book of Paradise Lost as an example of this; and the last sixteen pages are devoted to a parallel between the delineation of the chaos and the creation of the world in Ovid, and in the Sixth Eclogue of Virgil, on the one hand, and Milton's development of the same topics on the other, in every particular of which the superiority is assigned to Milton. In 1704 Dennis produced a further treatise on the "Grounds of Criticism in Poetry; being a preliminary to a larger work, designed to be published in folio, and entitled, A Criticism upon our Most Celebrated English Poets Deceased." In this piece, consisting of little more than one hundred slight pages in octavo, the author quotes more than two hundred and fifty verses from the Paradise Lost, in support of his different propositions.

CHAP. XI. 1696.

Dennis is indeed to the last degree a bigot in poetry. The rules of Aristotle (which are in reality nothing but the practice of the Greek poets drawn out into abstract maxims), the laws of the three unities, and the principle of what he calls "poetical justice," form the boundary of his conceptions, are his religion and his creed. Shakespear has therefore much less chance with him than Milton. The reign of this despotic pedantry is now over; and scarcely any reader is at this day

CHAP. XI. so completely in leading-strings, as not to think the great founders of English poetry as well entitled to give laws to their art, as the poets of Rome or Greece. But Dennis is not brought forward here as a standard of right judgment, but as an example of the early admiration of Milton, which Dennis I suppose rather learned from the wits with whom he conversed, than is to be considered as in any way giving birth to himself. He is however entitled to be classed among those who have treated copiously on this matter: and Dennis at least would say, if he could look back now on those who have built a part of their praise on the early commendation of Milton,—"I was the first to do justice to this great pattern of heroic poetry among the moderns, in 1696; and Addison came fifteen years later, and has run away with the honour."

1696.

1698. The next writer in succession whom it is to our purpose to produce, is Toland, whose Life of Milton was printed in the year 1698. His judgment of the Paradise Lost, has already been quoted: but he is far from passing over in silence the Occasional Poems, as to which Warton has spoken in so extraordinary a manner. Toland, the liberal and just-judging Toland, expresses himself on the subject of these poems in terms of the fullest applause. He speaks of the Mansus, as "an incomparable Latin eclog," and of the Damon, as "nothing inferior to the Daphnis of Virgil." Referring to the seventh of the Latin Elegies, Toland says, "he describes his falling in love with a lady, whom he accidentally met, and never afterwards saw, in such tender expressions, with those lively passions, and images so natural, that you would think

Love himself had directed his pen, or inspir'd your own breast when you peruse them."[h] Of Lycidas he pronounces, that this "monody is one of the finest [poems] he ever wrote;" and of Comus, that "in the peculiar disposition of the story, the sweetness of the numbers, the justness of the expression, and the moral it teaches, there is nothing like it extant in any language." But the commendation of Toland, Warton, by a particular ingenuity of reasoning, turns into a *family testimony* (he having derived his information from Milton's relatives, and being by implication incapable of judging for himself), and therefore "not properly admissible."

[h] A ludicrous story has been told of an Italian lady, who found Milton sleeping under a tree, while he was pursuing his studies at Cambridge, and being struck with the loveliness of his features, and having written with a pencil four lines of a madrigal of Guarini, the purport of which is, "Eyes, human stars! if you kill me, while closed, what would be your effect upon me, if you were open?" put them into his hand, without disturbing his slumbers. It is added that, "eager from this moment to discover the fair incognita, Milton travelled through every part of Italy, seeking her in all directions, but in vain. His poetic fervour became incessantly more and more heated by the idea which he had formed of his unknown admirer; and it is therefore in some degree to her, that his own times, and the latest posterity, are indebted for the most passionate effusions of the Paradise Lost."

What a despicable idea does all this give us of Milton! What did he know of the lady? Nothing, but that she was silly enough to be deeply smitten with a glance of his features, or roguish and immodest enough to jest upon them to him, though utterly a stranger. What a senseless coxcomb must the man have been, who, knowing no more than this, sought for the scribbler "through every part of Italy!" How apposite is this drivelling tale to the sublime intellectual habits of the author of Paradise Lost!

"Like a dew-drop from the lion's mane,
'Tis shook to air."

This story may be found in Todd, and has been versified by the exquisite pen of Miss Anna Seward.

CHAP. XI. 1705.

I will add one more testimony of the high estimation in which Milton was held, previously to the criticism of Addison, which is superior to all objection. I find the following notice in a work, entitled "A Compleat History of Europe, from the Year 1600 to the Treaty of Nimeguen," in four volumes, octavo, published in 1705. This compilation professes to "add the Remarkables of every year at the end of it; which consist chiefly of the deaths, characters and works of learned men." It is however exceedingly sparing in this sort of articles,[1] and under the date of 1674 Milton only is mentioned in these words.

"There is hardly any thing that can make this year more remarkable, than the death of the famous John Milton. He was a scrivener's son, born in London 1606, and said to be descended from the Miltons in Oxfordshire. He was educated in Christ's College in Cambridge, commenced master of arts, and travelled into Italy; but returning home in the beginning of the civil wars, he proved a great stickler against the king and the church of England, and even the presbyterians too, when they declared against the king's murder. Cromwell made him his Latin secretary, in which he continued under Richard and the Rump. He was a favourer of the puritans in his youth; in his middle years of the independents and anabaptists; but in the latter part of his life was not a professed member of any church. He has left us an inimitable poem in blank verse, called Paradice Lost; as also Paradice

[1] Shakespear, Beaumont and Fletcher, Daniel, Drayton, Robert Burton, Davenant, Suckling, Cleveland and Clarendon are unnoticed in this catalogue.

Regain'd, Sampson Agonistes, and Occasional Poems. He was a person of wonderful parts, of a very sharp wit, a good philosopher and historian, an excellent poet and philologer, a good mathematician, and well skilled in musick.[k] His other works are published in three volumes folio; the two first containing the English, and the third the Latin pieces." CHAP. XI. 1705.

We may close this brief enumeration, with observing that, in the Preface to Bysshe's Art of Poetry, published in 1702, Shakespear, Milton and Dryden are expressly named as the three principal English poets; and that, not with the parade of saying any thing new and extraordinary, but with simplicity, the author appearing aware that he is merely delivering a truth generally acknowledged. 1702.

"I resolved to place my principal materials under the awful guard of the immortal Shakespear, Milton, Dryden.

"*Procul, ô procul, este profani!*"

[k] This enumeration of his qualities is taken from Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 1691.

CHAPTER XII.

EDWARD PHILIPS DIES.—TRANSLATIONS AND POEMS, BY HIS SURVIVING BROTHER.—VERSES TO TUTCHIN.—*ENGLISH FORTUNE-TELLERS*, BY THE SAME.—ACCUSATIONS AGAINST HIM BY THE OXFORD HISTORIAN EXAMINED.—CONCLUSION.—EDUCATION OF THE BROTHERS CONSIDERED.—LIMITED NATURE OF ITS EFFECTS.—THEIR OPPOSITE CHARACTERS.—MILD AND GENTLE TEMPER OF EDWARD.—RUGGEDNESS AND CONVIVIAL PROPENSITIES OF JOHN.—HIS ASTONISHING ACTIVITY AND INDUSTRY.—THEIR EDUCATION NOT PROFESSIONAL.—THEY BECOME HABITUALLY AUTHORS.—QUESTION, WHETHER THIS CONDUCED TO THEIR HAPPINESS, CONSIDERED.—HOW FAR THEIR PURSUITS WERE OF PUBLIC BENEFIT.—RANK THEY ARE ENTITLED TO HOLD IN INTELLECT, AND IN MORAL ESTIMATION.

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AND here ends all that it has been yet practicable to trace respecting Edward and John Philips, the nephews of Milton. The elder of the two died between the years 1694, when he published his translation of Milton's Letters of State, and 1698, when Toland[a] speaks of John Philips, the younger brother, as being still living.

I have not been able to ascertain the exact period of the death of either. The last mention I have found of John Philips, is in the Life and Errors of John Dunton above referred to, where, in a catalogue of the authors of the time, he is said to be "a gentleman of good learning and well born. He'll

[a] P. 89. edit. 1761.

write you a design off in a very little time, if the gout (or claret) don't stop him."

The Preface of Dunton's book is dated 10 October 1704; yet it must not be considered as an absolute certainty that John Philips was living to that time, as the author remarks in this preface "these sheets should have been made public a year ago." It may perhaps however be conceived, that the honest bookseller would, even while correcting the catalogue in the press, have inserted notice of a death, if it had occurred between writing the book, and this last opportunity which is thus forced upon an author, of supplying its defects.

Another resource which occurred to me for picking up any incidental information respecting John Philips, was in turning over the pages of the Monthly Mercury, which he conducted, from the Revolution, perhaps to the very period of his death; nor has my search been altogether without fruit. In the advertisements of books occasionally annexed to this publication, I find in January 1693, "The Present Court of Spain; or the Modern Gallantry of the Spanish Nobility Unfolded. In Several Histories, and Seventy-five Letters from the Enamoured Teresa to her Beloved the Marquis of Mansera. By the Lady, Author of Memoirs and Travels into Spain [the Countess D'Aunois]. Done into English by J. P." This book by no means answers to the promise of its title, being merely a collection of *novellettes* and love-stories, the invention of the author. There is also an advertisement in February 1695 of a "Poem in Memory of Queen Mary, by John Philips, Gent.," and another in December 1697 of a piece from the same author,

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entitled, "Augustus Britannicus; a Poem on the Peace concluded at Ryswick." As far as to the end of 1697, John Philips therefore still retained vigour enough for the undertaking of voluntary labours.

In a monthly publication by Mottuaux, entitled The Gentleman's Journal, and continued during three years, 1692, 1693, and 1694, I find in the volume for the latter of these years two short copies of verses by John Philips.

1697. To a small quarto poem, entitled "A Search after Honesty, by Mr. Tutchin," printed in the year 1697, there stands prefixed a copy of verses by J. P. [John Philips], extending to sixty-eight lines. The author is addressed here by the appellation of "Old Friend;" and therefore in a volume, one purpose of which must necessarily be to investigate the moral character and dispositions of the nephews of Milton, it is not unimportant to consider briefly the history of the person thus significantly addressed. Nor is the writer of the "Search after Honesty," a personage altogether without note in the times in which he lived.

John Tutchin was born about the year of the Restoration, and was probably a native of Lymington in the county of Southampton. The first time he appears upon record is in the duke of Monmouth's rebellion in 1685; and the account given of him in the fifth edition of the Western Martyrology, a book brought out by John Dunton, the bookseller, was probably furnished by himself. He was taken with arms in his hand, and conducted to Dorchester jail, where we are told that "there were in one room, at one time, nineteen young gentlemen, not one of them twenty-one years of age, and all

of them hanged except Mr. Tutchin."[b] He is said to have got off when capitally indicted, by the precaution he had used of suppressing his real name: but judge Jefferies, being the more inflamed against him for thus escaping, caused him to be tried anew on the charge of this concealment, and of having thereby defeated the purposes of public justice. On this second trial he was found guilty, and received sentence to be imprisoned for seven years, to be whipped once a year through all the market-towns of Dorsetshire, and to pay one hundred marks to the king. Upon passing the sentence, the clerk of the arraigns is described as having stood up and observed to his lordship, that, considering the number of market-towns in the county, this amounted to a whipping about once a fortnight; but Jefferies was in no way affected by this suggestion. We are told however that Tutchin made himself sick at the time when he was to have received his first castigation, and that his friends soon after, for a payment in money from five hundred to a thousand pounds (a practice perfectly common at this blessed period), procured to have his name inserted with others in a royal pardon. Meanwhile, previously to this, there is a petition of his to James the Second, praying that he might be hanged as a rebel, instead of suffering the punishment Jefferies had awarded him; but this petition is drawn up in so disrespectful a style, that the author could not have looked for its being received with any attention.

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Tutchin is said to have published a volume of poems in the

[b] This seems to imply that he was born some years later, than is above stated on the authority of the Biographia Dramatica.

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very year in which he was visited by these memorable adversities.[c] He may naturally be supposed to have felt great exultation in the event of the Revolution; and accordingly I find under his name, in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, "An Heroick Poem on William the Third," published in 1689. He is also said to have written "The British Muse; a Satyr, Occasioned by all the Poems and Elegies on the Death of James the Second (1701);" which was penned, we are told, in so bitter a style, as all the severities he had suffered can hardly excuse.[c] He seems however to have been a genuine satirist, of that stamp that scarcely any thing can satisfy, and that finds food for spleen in every thing that occurs; since the next time his name is presented to us, is as the author of a poem, published in the same year, called "The Foreigners," designed to awaken the public aversion against the Dutch, and by implication against king William, to which De Foe's well known piece of the True-Born Englishman was intended as a reply.[d] Finally, Tutchin commenced in April 1702, a periodical paper, called the Observator, which excited much attention, and was extremely obnoxious to the party of the Tories.[e] In 1707 he was assaulted by night by some persons he had offended, and was so cruelly used, as to have occasioned his death in a short time after.[e]

Tutchin is the second among the friends of John Philips, to whom the courts of law of those times awarded the ignominious punishment of public flagellation. From this fact, the most moderate inference we are entitled to make seems

[c] Jacob. Biographia Dramatica. [d] De Foe. [e] Jacob. Biographia Dramatica.

to be, that he delighted in the society of men of a daring and audacious character. Perhaps the words "Old Friend," will not authorise so large a construction, as to entitle us to conclude that John Philips was secretly a partisan of the duke of Monmouth twelve years before, at the very time that he penned his servile panegyrics to James the Second. It is indeed candid to believe, that they were an unwilling offering, and were judged by the author an indispensible antidote to the malignant suggestions to which his former conduct might have exposed him.

I have ascribed the verses prefixed to Tutchin's Search after Honesty to John Philips, upon no further external evidence than that of his initials. It is impossible however to read them, without observing the striking resemblance they bear to his avowed compositions: nor, though they must have been written at the age of sixty-six, are they inferior in vigour to any thing he produced at the best period of his life. There is some energy of thought in the following lines.

> "What is this thing that men so lamely know,
> This Honesty, so much pretended to?
> 'Tis nothing: or what 's next to it, but a toy;
> Oft-times a shoeing-horn for knavery.
> 'Tis like the maidenhead weak men adore;
> Ne'er found when lost, nor never seen before.
> This truth all know, and some men to their sorrow:
> One Honest now, perhaps is a Knave to-morrow.
> Then what 's the Honesty in common vogue,
> When he that hath it, proves next day a Rogue?"

The writer concludes:

> "Well, friend, go on! in this design abide!
> And the Great Being be thy sacred guide!

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'Tis brave and generous, nay, a noble strain,
To seek for that which few men wish to gain.
'Tis a design of such descent and birth,
That proves 'twas born above, not here on earth.
As a reward, may thou its birth-place view,
As a possessor, not as pilgrims do!
Let us be Honest! us that shrine adore!
A Blessing still attends it, though we are poor."

1700. The Monthly Mercury for May 1700 contains the following notice, well agreeing with the extract above given from the Life of Dunton. "We must acknowledge the last Number to have been somewhat deficient: but the author was then so violently afflicted with the gout, both in hands and feet, that it was as much as he could do, to continue the series of months without an interruption." We may further add to the catalogue of John Philips's writings, a complimentary copy of verses to Dr. John Blow, prefixed to the Amphion Anglicus, a collection of Musical productions by that composer, in 1700.

There is one circumstance, slightly tending to fix the deaths of each of the brothers, which, however minute, may on that account not be unworthy to be mentioned. There was a fifth edition of the World of Words, "with large additions and improvements," published in 1696. I should say, that Edward was still alive to superintend this edition. The sixth edition of the same book was published in 1706, "with additions by J. K." [John Kersey]; and the author, instead of being denominated plain Edward Philips, or by his initials only, as in all former editions, is here designed Edward Philips, Gent. May it not have happened that John Philips was some way

concerned in arranging this title-page, and therefore was still alive in 1706; *J. Philips, Gent.*, or *John Philips, Gent.*, being for the most part the description he assumes to himself? There is nothing in Dunton's account of John Philips, published in 1704, that in the remotest degree intimates a general breaking up of the constitution, or an approaching death, but the contrary. The probability seems rather to be, that the younger of Milton's nephews might outlive the description given of him by Dunton several years.—If this reasoning be just, Edward Philips died in the year 1696 or 1697, and John Philips not till after the publication of the sixth edition of the World of Words in 1706. CHAP. XII.

Since writing the above, a curious performance has fallen in my way, which is on many accounts entitled to notice. It is a thin quarto of 148 pages, entitled, "The English Fortune-Tellers: Containing several Necessary Questions, Resolved by the Ablest Antient Philosophers, and Modern Astrologers. Gathered from their Writings and Manuscripts, by J. P., Student in Astrology." This book appears from the title-page to have been published in 1703. 1703.

Upon due examination of the work I see no reason to doubt, that the initials, J. P., represent John Philips, one of the subjects of the present narrative. The Advertisement prefixed to it reminds us strongly of the publications under the name of Montelion forty years before; and when we combine this circumstance with the signature of the author, the un-

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forced and probable construction will be that they are both the production of the same pen. The Advertisement runs thus:

"To Fortune's Admirers, by Land and Sea.

"'Tis for harmless mirth and innocent recreation, that this task is undertaken; it being delectable, and easie to be understood by ordinary capacities, for whom it is designed: and I hope it may receive a favourable entertainment amongst those of a higher rank and quality, who will find nothing in it of Astronomy, Necromancy, Witchcraft, Magick, Conjuration, or any Diabolical Art; but only a Burlesque and Ridicule upon those, who pretend to understand hidden mysteries, and by their mercenary proceedings endeavour to delude the ignorant.

"Now as every age grows wiser and wiser, so I hope those, who have been so foolishly fond as to run with a full career after such impostors, will now make a halt, and address themselves at their leisure to this sport, which is pleasant and diverting, with a small expence attending it: some precepts and similies are likewise laid down, which, if well apply'd, may prove advantageous to Fortune's pupils.

"If any of these lots or chances happen to fall within the limits of equity upon the person intended, then Madam Fortune is in the right; but if otherways she treats any ironically, contrary to their merits, they must look upon her as blind and ignorant; for though she entertains some favourites, whom she crowns with her smiles, yet she holds others in disgrace, whom she kills with her frowns.

"All I can say of this book is, that it is barely a piece of

conjecture, and not invented to puzzle the brain, or disturb the fancy; but rather to divert heaviness, and exercise laughter: it may be used like hellebore, to purge away melancholly thoughts after a tiresome and full employment, and to raise some sparkles of chearfulness in the most dull and drowsie spirits.

"J. P."

This book certainly affords a very singular example of active study and mental exertion, when we consider that the author was already seventy-two years of age, at the period of its publication. The basis of this trifle is a Table of Twenty Four Questions, being such as are usually proposed by the superstitious, when they resort to persons thought to be familiarly acquainted with the stars, for the satisfaction of their curiosity respecting the future events that shall happen to them. These questions are the preliminary to Four Parts of which the work consists, three of the four being entirely made up of wood-engravings and no doubt brought out at a considerable expense. The First Part contains twenty-four heads of real or imaginary kings, alphabetically arranged, such as king Atlas, king Cambyses, king Gyges, king Danaus, who might be most remote from modern times, or the period of definite history. In the Table of Questions, you are referred to one or other of these kings, as constituting the first step in the solution of which you are in quest. The Second Part contains, in miniature, in the middle of each page, the portraits of twenty-four supposed philosophers, surrounded with the representation of fifty-six different combinations, which may be produced by the casting of three dice. From the king

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to whom you may happen to be referred in the Table of Questions, you are directed to one or other of the philosophers, which is the next step in advance towards satisfying your curiosity. You are then to try your chance in the casting of three dice, and this will carry you a step further. The Third Part represents twenty-four celestial Signs in diagrams, each being surrounded with the names of fifty-six Spirits, such as the conjurors deal withal; for example, Abca, Obda, Caba, Ebar, Karto, and Yarbo. Having thrown your dice, you are to look in the plate of the philosopher to whom you have been previously directed, for the exact combination you have thrown, and under that combination, you are referred to the very Sign and Spirit, that will lead to a more complete solution of your enquiry. The Last Part is distributed under the names of twenty-four astrologers, and contains under each, fifty-six stanzas, or quadrains of verses, responsive to the fifty-six combinations of the dice already mentioned. Thus you are referred from the kings to the philosophers, and from the philosophers to the signs, to the spirits, to the astrologers, till finally you are presented with four appropriate lines, containing the answer to the question you set out with the desire to have resolved. The verses therefore in this little book amount to five thousand three hundred and seventy-six lines; and though written with a careless pen, and void of the remotest desire on the part of the author to rank himself by their means in the catalogue of poets, yet have much of the dry humour, and occasionally of the broad, coarse hints, which characterise the genius of John Philips.

The book is further ornamented with a frontispiece, cut in

wood, that has considerable expression and merit. It represents Fortune in the act of distributing her favours, which are crowns, sceptres, mitres, money-bags, rosaries, cards, dice, fools'-caps, pillories, whips, swords, pistols, halters and axes. All these are seen floating in the air; and among the expectants I distinguish a pope, a cardinal, a monk, a bashaw, a patched piece of female antiquity, a cripple, and many others; some with their hands joined as in devotion, some simpering, some waiting in motionless anxiety, and some with hands outstretched, unable to keep down the eagerness of their wishes.

The copy of the book which lies before me, was the property of Dodd, the comedian, and contains a memorandum from the pen of his son, one of the under-masters of Westminster School, which, as exhibiting a curious picture of the humour of the collectors of old books, deserves to be quoted in this place.

"This is a book uncommonly scarce; so much so, that after several years' enquiry, and search into many of the principal libraries, I have met with only two copies, both at present in my possession. The first was my father's, which upon examination I found wanted two leaves in the Second Part. Wishing to perfect it by manuscript at least, I made diligent enquiry after another copy, but for a long time in vain. At last, by mere accident I was informed, that the late reverend Mr. Brand, secretary to the Antiquarian Society, was supposed to have a copy. Not having any acquaintance with that gentleman, I got introduced to him by a friend, and stated the purport of my visit, namely, a request, that if Mr.

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B. had the book, and it contained the two leaves in question, I might be permitted to copy them out. He had the book; he took it down, and collating it with my copy (which I had brought with me), the two leaves were there. At this Mr. B., looking at me very shrewdly, says, 'Well, sir, here are the two leaves you see, and you wish to copy them: now I'll tell you what I will do for you: I will treat you as we antiquarians treat one another (for you must understand some of us are sad rogues in regard to lending a rare book, or any other curious article): I will lend you only the two leaves you want,' stripping them at the same time very easily out of his book, the binding of which was in a very loose, decayed condition; 'and you shall leave your book with me in pledge, till you return the leaves.' I smiled at the proposal, which was made with great good-humour by Mr. B., and readily agreed to it; left my book, and carried away the two leaves, which in a week after, I brought back to their owner.

"When Mr. Brand's Library was on sale, seven years after, upon his decease, I purchased this copy, already my old acquaintance."

Wood concludes his account of John Philips in the following words: "A man of very loose principles, atheistical, forsakes his wife and children, makes no provision for them. Translated the monthly accounts." In this last clause, the Oxford historian refers to John Philips's occupation as translator and conductor of the Monthly Mercury.

In commenting on the rest of the passage, it is not unfair to

say that Wood is no unexceptionable witness in the points here treated of. In the commencement of his paragraph of John Philips he thus expresses himself: "This Edward Philips hath a brother called John Philips, who having early imbibed in a most plentiful manner the rankest antimonarchical principles, from that *villainous leading incendiary*, John Milton, his uncle, proved in a short time so notable a proficient in his bloody school, &c." And again: "I must let the reader know, that when the Popish plot broke out, John Philips fell back to his old road, struck in with the disaffected party, &c." It is doubtless in this style, that Wood would every where have spoken of Milton, had not the acrimony of his nonjuring principles been tempered in the article of the author of Paradise Lost, by a happy infusion of the generous and kindly feelings of Aubrey, from whom he derived his information. We have seen that John Philips, from the time he could write man, sedulously guarded himself in all instances from the imputation of republicanism, and in his latter years was precisely and truly what we understand by a constitutional whig. The admirer of Milton has little reason to entertain a blind partiality for his younger nephew; but that very sentiment, in addition to the calls of justice, would induce us to shield so near a relative of the poet from ill-grounded imputations.

We may reasonably admit, on the foundation of Anthony Wood's representation, that John Philips was a married man, and that he did not live with his wife. A man so circumstanced, if he is not criminal in his conduct, may well be admitted to be unfortunate. But the system of domestic life is

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of so delicate a structure, and it is so impossible for a bystander truly to appreciate the interior events, the discussions, and mutual unfitnesses that may occur in the conjugal state, that every human creature must be permitted to be in a considerable degree his own judge and jury in that trial. The exercise of these functions imposes on him an awful duty. A severe moralist (which John Philips was not) will task himself to bear, as much as patiently and philosophically can be borne in that engagement, from respect for the universally received institutions of his contemporaries, and in some measure, of all civilised life; and, especially where there are children, from a regard to what the welfare of their rising minds may require.

But Wood adds, that John Philips "forsook his children, and made no provision for them." This we cannot admit, without pronouncing that his conduct was unequivocally criminal. But this, under the received orders and institutions of society, it is difficult for any but a fugitive and a vagabond to do. Now, we know that John Philips, in the latter part of his life, and especially when Wood wrote, was not a wanderer, without a home and without a name. His literary engagements, and particularly that of editor of the Monthly Mercury, gave him a visible being, and furnished a medium, upon any conceivable supposition, through which he might be communicated with and found. If then the assertion of Wood upon this point stands thus in defiance of probability, we may safely decide, that he who felt himself prompted by his head and his heart to designate the author of Paradise Lost as a

"villainous incendiary," would have found some undue bias towards, and some dishonest gratification in, the placing whatever related to his nephew in an odious light.

I feel some pleasure, in this question of the domestic history of John Philips, while I recollect that this representation of Anthony Wood is not posthumous with regard to the person treated of, and does not constitute the proper winding up of his life. Wood died in 1695; and John Philips survived him at least ten years. Every reader therefore is free, according to the bent of his inclination, to fill up this period with such events as his imagination may furnish. John Philips may have been fully reconciled to the surviving members of his family, even if we should suppose that he was at any time estranged from them all. His sons, if his children were sons, may have grown up to manhood under their father's care; and his various connections, of the musical profession, of literary participation and intercourse, or of patronage, may have established them advantageously in life. The paroxysms of gout, to which John Philips was occasionally a martyr, may have been soothed by the tender attentions of his offspring, and their hands may have smoothed for him the pillow of departing life. It is good for a man in his latest infirmities, to have persons near him who consider him as their own, who record his past anxieties for their welfare, who remember his love and his benefits, and to whom it is part of their religion to mitigate to him to the utmost of their power the pangs of dissolution.

It would scarcely be right to close the volume upon the lives of these two brothers, without moralising a little on their case, one of the most striking and conclusive that ever oc-

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curred, of a trial of what I may call the antagonist powers of nature and education.

They cannot be denied to have been persons possessing a competent share of what is denominated good natural powers. They were educated by Milton. Helvetius himself could scarcely have chosen a more qualified tutor, upon whose experiments to have tried the truth of his theories. It is possible for a man of the greatest endowments to be so absorbed in other things, as to yield a very indolent and uncertain attention to the forming the minds of young persons who may be placed under his care. But that is not the case in the present instance. Milton discharged the functions he assumed,

"As ever in his great task-master's eye."

Seldom he allowed himself "a gaudy day;" but had at all times his thoughts awake to observe, and his lips prepared to instruct. Take Edward Philips's own narrative of his methods of proceeding.

"And here by the way, I judge it not impertinent to mention the many authors both of the Latin and Greek, which through his excellent judgment and way of teaching, far above the pedantry of common publick schools (where such authors are scarce ever heard of), were run over within no greater compass of time, then from ten to fifteen or sixteen years of age. Of the Latin, the four grand authors *De Re Rustica*, Cato, Varro, Columella and Palladius; Cornelius Celsus, an ancient physician of the Romans; a great part of Pliny's Natural History; Vitruvius his Architecture; Frontinus his Stratagems; with the two egregious poets, Lucretius and Manilius.

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Of the Greek, Hesiod, a poet equal [contemporary] with Homer; Aratus his *Phænomena*, and *Diosemeia;* Dionysius After *De Situ Orbis;* Oppian's Cynegeticks, and Halieuticks; Quintus Calaber his Poem of the Trojan War continued from Homer; Apollonius Rhodius his Argonauticks; and in prose Plutarch's *Placita Philosophorum*, and Περι Παιδων Αγογιας [Αγωγης]; Geminus's Astronomy; Xenophon's *Cyri Institutio*, and *Anabasis;* Ælian's Tactics; and Polyænus's Warlike Stratagems.[f] Nor did the time thus studiously employed in conquering the Greek and Latin tongues, hinder the attaining to the chief oriental languages, *viz.* the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac, so far as to go through the Pentateuch, or Five Books of Moses in Hebrew,[g] to make a good entrance into the Targum, or Chaldee paraphrase, and to understand several chapters of St. Matthew in the Syriac Testament; besides an introduction into several arts and sciences, by reading Urstisius his Arithmetic, Riffs Geometry, Pitiscus his Trigonometry, Joannes de Sacro Bosco *De Sphæra;* and into the Italian and French tongues, by reading in Italian Giovan Villani's History of the Transactions between several petty States of Italy, and in French a great part of Pierre Davity, the famous geographer

[f] It could not be by accident that we do not find the names of Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Pindar, Anacreon, Herodotus, Thucydides and Plato, among the Greeks, or among the Romans, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Terence, Catullus, Juvenal, Martial, Cicero, Livy, Sallust and Tacitus, in this list. Milton, it is to be supposed, thought that these were authors to be read in the solitude of the closet, by one who had already mastered the languages in which they wrote, and that it would be profanation to employ the compositions of such men, as exercises upon which to acquire the rudiments of etymology, prosody and syntax.

[g] Not the prophetical and poetic writings.

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of France in his time.[h] The Sunday's work was for the most part the reading each day a chapter of the Greek Testament, and hearing his learned exposition upon the same. The next work after this, was the writing from his own dictation, some part, from time to time, of a tractate which he thought fit to collect from the ablest divines who had written of that subject, Amesius, Wollebius, &c. A Perfect System of Divinity."

It might occur to some readers that all this was a dry process, not calculated to awaken the dormant powers of the mind, and kindle the flame of genius amidst the materials of observation and knowledge. But it would be blasphemy to suppose that it was such in the hands of Milton. There are who would sow the seeds of instruction, and never have observed that the field was strewed with stones; who would rehearse the lessons of wisdom, and not heed that the thoughts of his hearers were wandering to the furthest quarters of the earth. But Milton was not a man of this form. He perceived the comprehension, and remarked the feelings, of his pupils. He did not merely hear the words they pronounced; he talked to them familiarly, with all the warmth of eloquence, "thoughts that breathed, and words that burned," of the various topics capable of affecting the soul that occurred. While they read the Greek Testament, he "expounded" to them the character of its divine author, the sublimity of his precepts, the purity of his morals, and his fervent zeal for the deliverance and re-

[h] These were all doubtless authors of considerable note in their time; but, such are the revolutions in the state of literature, their names are not now to be found in the common biographical dictionaries; and the works of Riff not in the Catalogues of the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. Villani is a valuable historian.

novation of mankind. Aubrey assures us that he was "most familiar and free in his conversation to those to whom most sowre in his way of education." He taught his nephews the principles of music: "he made them songsters;" and he treated them as friends. "His manner of teaching," says Edward Philips, "never savour'd the least any thing of pedantry." With the utmost justice then does he remark, "Had they received his documents with the same acuteness of wit and apprehension, the same industry, alacrity and thirst after knowledge, as the instructor was indued with, what prodigies of wit and learning might they have proved! The scholars might in some degree have come near to the equalling the master, and have made good what he seems to predict in the close of the Elegy he made upon one of his sister's children, who died in her infancy.

"Then thou, the mother of so sweet a child,
Her false, imagin'd loss cease to lament,
And wisely learn to curb thy sorrows wild:—
This if thou do, God will an offspring give,
That till the world's last end shall make thy name to live."

In the mean while we see the result of their education. Edward and John Philips were men of a reasonable portion of talents; they were no doubt both of them indebted to the latest period of their lives to Milton for the advancement of those talents; but they had a very slender portion of resemblance to the intellectual character of their sublime instructor.

Nor is it in a small degree memorable how early they set themselves loose from the modes of thinking of their preceptor. Every hopeful and ingenuous school-boy is at some time

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convinced that his tutor (if reasonably qualified for his office) is the wisest of men. We drink in from such their lessons of prudence, their intellectual judgments, and their sentiments upon the most awful and important subjects, while our own understanding is unformed, and while they are to us like beings of a superior nature. This is the very impulse and condition of our being: we all love and aspire after truth, and before we dare venture on the boldness of thinking for ourselves, we are too happy to learn it from the oracles of age and experience. This state of things indeed remains but for a time; but, if upon further and fuller information we find that our first instructors not only seemed to be wise, but that we have no reason to retract our first judgment of their eminence in the order of minds, it is then generally seen, that the ingenuous pupil preserves his veneration even to the last breath of his declining age, and that the tender and individual recollection of all that had passed between them in his dawn of life, and of all that he felt of wonder and admiration, becomes inextricably wound up with the respect and honour he would on other accounts be prompted to pay to abstract and general excellence.

In some cases indeed the matured pupil afterward discovers, that what had once appeared to him wise, was merely the silly effusions of narrow prejudice, and that there was a severe and illiberal gloom in what was taught, which his manly and expansive reason subsequently disdains. But such were not the lessons of Milton.

Yet the nephews of the great poet threw off the peculiar and favourite modes of thinking of their uncle, by the time

they were twenty-four or twenty-five years of age; I know not how much sooner. How are we to account for this? It was not that their understandings rejected his reasonings, and that as they grew up, they entered into a more just and a wider field of observation; it was the weakness and unmanliness of their tempers, that corrupted their hearts, and obscured their judgment. They associated with what Edward Philips calls in his History "the jovial cavaliers." It was not probably a cold calculation of interest that at first seduced them. There was little probability in 1655 that the old government would ever be restored. But they liked the careless jollity and merriment of the royalists; and this point being first gained, their calculations then leaned to the side of their wishes, and in the midst of songs, and jests, and intemperate revelry, they learned to doubt no longer that "the king would have his own again."

Another circumstance of some importance to be considered, when we are estimating the force of education in general, or of Milton's system of education in particular, is the very different character that manifested itself in his nephews in their following life. This is one of innumerable instances, perhaps as many as there are human creatures in the world, proving that there is a power within us moulding up our different dispositions, independent of, and elder than, every species of education. Edward Philips was a being of a mild and gentle nature, irreconcilable to the exercise of almost every degree of severity. Once, in the beginning of manhood, he was seduced into a desertion and almost defiance of his uncle; but he soon repented, and from that time, as he tells us himself, continued

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to see him almost daily. It would not perhaps be too great a refinement to say, that this temporary apostacy arose out of the mildness of his disposition. It seemed to him that the tenets of his uncle were too austere; he shrank from the severe and simple firmness of a republican creed. When he saw the gay votaries of the family of Stuart, his gentleness soon inclined him to pity a monarch in exile, and an ancient nobility stripped of their possessions. It is the same temper under a different aspect, that fills him with that reverence toward exalted minds, and those true ornaments of our species, which shows itself wherever it has an opportunity to appear, and is so conspicuous in the Discourse prefixed to the *Theatrum Poetarum.*

John Philips on the other hand was one of the ruggedest of mankind. When he separated himself from his uncle and inestimable benefactor, it was, so far as we can perceive, for ever. He delights in asperity; he never misses an occasion to have recourse to it; and he prescribes himself no bounds of moderation in its employment. Yet he was constitutionally a boon companion. He never forgets his claret; and he fixes on himself its due attendant and retainer, the gout. These two features constitute the ordinary character of a satirist. Without asperity he is never at home in his profession. And he that would make us laugh, must first laugh himself. He must have tried in the relaxation of the convivial scene, what it is that easily moves men to ridicule, and to enjoy and triumph over the weakness of their fellows; and he must have obtained that self-possession and confidence in his own wit, which are here only infallibly to be acquired.

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One more consideration will inevitably present itself to a reflecting mind in contemplating the nephews of Milton. Could they, or could they not, have been more happily disposed of in their destination in life? It appears as if Milton did not much interpose himself in this. He was probably of opinion, that a general, is of more importance than a particular, preparation for the offices and business of life, and was more anxious that his pupil should be a man, than that he should be a tradesman or a manufacturer, a lawyer or a physician. He perhaps believed, that when he was once truly and in the best sense of the word a man, he could then best select the destination that suited him, and most effectually accomplish himself for it. These young men were probably without inheritance; and it unfortunately happened that they threw themselves into a connection and society different from Milton's, perhaps at the very time when, but for this, he could most effectually have promoted their interests.

They both subsisted in a considerable degree by their labours as writers. Had they not been capable of this, they would probably have soon turned their attention to some of those pursuits or professions, in which the industry of the great mass of mankind is principally engaged. But they became habitually authors. In this their final destination then, how far did they effectually serve themselves, and how far the public?

We quit the story of John Philips, with the impression on our minds, of a man at least reasonably happy. The careless and jovial tone of his writings is such as has seldom flowed

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from a melancholy and miserable soul. Dunton's account of him, when more than seventy years of age,—that "he is a gentleman of good learning, and well-born; and will write you a design off in a very little time, if the gout or claret does not stop him,"—does not suggest to us the image of an unhappy man. And, as we know that he was, up to this period, engaged by the booksellers in the conduct of a monthly publication of tolerable character, and no difficult execution, we may naturally conclude that he was not exposed to much embarrassment as to the means of subsistence.

With respect to Edward Philips we are under a greater degree of uncertainty in this point. Wood speaks of him, as having "married a woman with several children, teaching school in the Strand near the Maypole, living in poor condition (though a good master), and writing and translating several things meerly to get a bare livelyhood;" and adds, that, "in 1684 and 1685, he was out of employment." Ten years later than this however, we find him writing the Life of Milton; and as those pages have the air of being composed by a man moderately at his ease, we may reasonably indulge the hope that these indications are not altogether fallacious. In 1696 he was again employed in superintending the fifth edition of his World of Words, "with large additions and improvements;" and about that time he died.

As to the question, which is the happier man, a person who, like John Philips, subsists by his pen, with the consciousness that he is exercising the better part of man, and the gratification that at the end of every month his narratives and specu-

lations occupy the attention of several thousand readers,—or a tradesman, who is engaged, at least as long as his faculties endure, in calculations upon the East and West India markets, and the home consumption, buying in quantities, to sell again in little, and patiently reasoning upon the *per centage* of his profits, with due attention to waste, and variation in the demand, and rent, and taxes, though he should leave behind him a fortune, the accumulation of his own industry, when he dies,—the question, I say, which of these is the happier man, is one that must be left to every one's private judgment and preference.

It should seem then, that one, if not both, of the nephews of Milton, was not much misemployed, so far as related to his own happiness. What judgment we are to form of their occupations with regard to the service of the public, is another question. It was long a serious complaint in the world, what a multitude of scribblers were to be found in it; and it has been very gravely lamented, that some method could not be discovered for preventing all persons, not possessed of eminent talents, from pestering the public with their labours through the medium of the press. But the justness of this view of things may be questioned.

To begin with poetry, where this remark might seem most reasonably to apply, as poetry is usually understood to be rather a luxury, and not classed among the necessaries in human affairs. Suppose every man were prohibited from writing verse, upon pain of public exposure, or any other penalty you please, who should not ultimately be found worthy to rank

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among the especial favourites of the muses; would not sometimes the worthiest, because the most sensitive, the most modest, and those that with liveliest apprehension could paint out consequences to themselves, be the foremost to withdraw? Suppose in a mixed assembly all persons, not possessed of the most indisputable title to respect, were required to leave the room; what would be the precise sort of persons left? or rather, would not a man of true discernment seek for the greatest merit rather on the outside, than withinside the doors? If we would foster merit, we must have great patience with the abortiveness of first attempts; and there is much reason to believe that a stripling of moderate intellect, would carry the prize from one pregnant and almost bursting with half-formed sublimities, in his boyish essay. A florist, who would produce the finest tulip, would set apart a spacious bed for the seeds of that flower, and would feel no disappointment, when he saw a great majority grow up with no exquisite variegation of colours. Where you would have an exquisite artist of any kind, a dancer, a fencer, a painter, a statuary, you must have a multitude of candidates, and many that shall turn out indifferently. If you desire an excellent comedy, you will be exceedingly unreasonable, if you do not lay your account in many bad ones. There were, many times over, a greater number of dramatic writers in the age of Shakespear, than in any other period of English literature.

But the argument becomes much more cogent, when applied to any other species of literary industry. There is a Greek proverb, which says that "a great book is a great evil."

But the converse of the proposition would be much more true, that a small book is an intolerable evil. A meagre abridgment, a dry and naked skeleton, is like the fruit-trees and the brook of Tantalus, for ever holding out to you the promise of refreshment, and never fulfilling the hopes it awakens. If you would really inform me, you must give me a story full of particulars, you must present me a picture, not of senseless outlines and clownish scratches, but one in which I may see how effects are produced, and decipher the harmony of the whole.

These reasoners, to be consistent, should say, "A great library is a great evil." Look round upon the hundred thousand volumes that fill those shelves! Is every one of them the produce of some mighty and colossal genius? Far otherwise. The great bulk of them are dry and repulsive, books that hardly any man can endure to open, till he is roused by the impulse of a divine curiosity, determined to trace some interesting question through all its ramifications. The greater part of the books are placed there, not because they are of every-day use, but because, though some of them may remain unmolested for twenty years, we know not how soon the enquiry of the noblest minds may lead to their being consulted. The great magazine and manufactory of literary labours, like every other great manufactory, calls for artisans of various degrees and measures of talent; and there must be within it "vessels for honour, and vessels for" comparative, not real "dishonour." It must be granted that there is nothing splendid in the destination of these last; but we were enquiring, not after splendour, but after use.

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With this rule to direct us, let us pass in review the literary labours of Edward and John Philips. There are effusions of both, the Preliminary Discourse to the *Theatrum Poetarum*, and some passages in the Satyr against Hypocrites, that deserve to be considered in a more flattering point of view. But, putting this out of the question, certainly they were often employed in a way that will be permanently beneficial to posterity. Are we under no obligations to Edward Philips for his Memoirs of Milton? His *Theatrum Poetarum* is the first critical catalogue that has been made of the poetical writers of our country, and all that have come after him have been indebted to him for their first materials. His Continuation of Baker is on the whole a sensible and temperate collection of facts; and many of those facts would probably never have come into the common stock of public information, if he had not committed them to the press. In the same manner his World of Words is one round in the progress that has been made toward explaining and methodising the English language; and though Skinner has sometimes spoken disrespectfully of it, he has at the same time, as we have seen, been very copious in using it. Nor, when we are on the head of Edward Philips's usefulness, should we forget what he performed in the way of education, particularly in the education of the younger Evelyn. For whatever he did, either in the character of a preceptor or an author, we must acknowledge ourselves indebted to his capacity, to his good dispositions in the use of that capacity, and to the discipline and generous instructions of Milton.

As to John Philips, if he were the author of Montelion's Introduction to Astrology, we must acknowledge his merits in having contributed his share to deliver the human mind from the basest of all slaveries, a slavery to the stars, and to those solemn mountebanks who pretended to interpret their language. He, as well as his brother Edward, was a musician, and a friend of musical composers, of Lawes, of Locke, and of Blow: this is a liberal accomplishment, and it is reasonable to believe, that he contributed to the advantage of these men in their reputation and success. His translations of the voluminous romances of Scuderi and others, not to mention his later translations, had their use: those things which are now laid aside, and have lost all spirit of life, were once in almost all instances healthful, and nutritious to the human mind, and formed one step in that grand scale of the progress of intellect, which, like the bridge in the Vision of Mirza, begins in darkness, and ends in a sublimity which we may in vain attempt to decipher. In his political writings, at least during the latter part of his life, John Philips was on the side of liberty; and his talents for satire were such, as may reasonably induce us to believe that his writings were not ineffective in their time. And his Monthly Mercury, which he conducted for ten or fifteen years, no doubt tended to diffuse knowledge, and a comprehensive mode of reasoning upon subjects of general politics, among his countrymen.

A few words of remark it is reasonable to add as to the rank these men are entitled to hold in the scale of intellect. Edward Philips's verses, prefixed to his edition of Drummond,

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are truly respectable, and it is to be hoped will never be left out in any subsequent impression of the works of that poet. The Preface to the *Theatrum Poetarum*, if he wrote it, proves that he possesses a mind of great delicacy and refinement, and susceptible of a genuine enthusiasm in behalf of intellectual eminence. It is the production of a writer working himself up to a tone above that of his every day feelings, and is not unmarked with obscurity of conception, and some degree of confusion in unfolding the principles he is anxious to deliver. It is not worthy of Milton; but it has sufficient merit to afford us no unpleasing specimen of the fruits of what Dr. Johnson sneeringly calls, "*the wonder-working academy of Milton.*"

The intellectual character of John Philips is such, as to deserve that we should pause upon it a little more emphatically, than upon that of his brother. There is one particular in which scarcely any man has gone beyond him; the talent of putting forth without respite the action of such intellectual powers as he possessed. The year in which he translated Almahide, and Pharamond, and Tavernier, is certainly an astonishing period. He must have possessed great courage, great industry, and great temperance; it required a vigorous constitution, and strong muscular stamina of body, as well as of mind. For this it is reasonable to say, that he was in a great degree indebted to Milton. And yet Milton could not give this to both his nephews. Edward Philips, I should say, was soft, gentle, a little effeminate: his literary courage was easily subdued; otherwise he would never have fallen into the straits commemorated by Antony Wood.

But the younger Philips, in the point of view we are now considering him, was in every respect an extraordinary man. He was not merely a sturdy and robust day-labourer in the literary vineyard, translating week after week, and month after month, without appearing to have the sense of fatigue. In addition to this he was a volunteer, ever on the alert. The pen was his implement of subsistence, providing for all his wants, and every demand upon him; and when these were discharged, reading, study, and the pen, were his amusement, his relaxation, and the exercise with which he refreshed himself. Edward Philips, speaking of his literary character, and having mentioned "his vein of burlesque and facetious poetry, which produc't the Satyr against Hypocrites, and the Travested Metaphrase of Two Books of Virgil, besides what is dispierc't among other things," adds, "Nevertheless what he hath writ in a serious vein of poetry, whereof very little hath yet been made public, is in my opinion nothing inferior to what he hath done in the other kind." And John Philips himself, in the Discourse annexed to his translation of Tavernier, makes mention of a Treatise (a work of gratuitous and self-imposed labour), "long ago written, and which I may speedily publish, concerning the beginnings and progress of the Turkish and Tartarian nations and empires."

Nor did this feature of character desert him, even as he approached the close of a long protracted life. In 1697 he was already sixty-six years of age; and then his pen was ready, upon no greater occasion than John Tutchin's publishing a six-penny poetical pamphlet, entitled A Search after

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Honesty, to contribute sixty-eight vigorous lines of verse for the illustration and ornament of this pamphlet. It was yet six years later than this, that John Philips constructed his ingenious bagatelle, called The English Fortune-Tellers, the plan of which has already been detailed, and which certainly required in the execution, a memory unimpaired by years, a vigorous power of combination, and a facility of thought and expression to which the necessity of pouring out five thousand three hundred and seventy-six verses for a mere *jeu d'esprit*, appears to have in it nothing alarming.

The defects of character which discovered themselves in either of the Philipses have been freely animadverted upon in the course of these pages. It is just to remark however, that distinctly as these defects are seen amidst the blaze of light that the glory of Milton sheds upon the brothers, yet, especially if due allowance is made for the calamitous and disgraceful times in which they lived, they passed their days in credit to the grave. Their inheritance appears to have been a blank; they were bred to no profession or trade; and they were cast upon their own discretion, so to provide for their necessities, natural or artificial, as that should direct them: all these strong temptations; which those who are born to competence, or who are destined simply to tread the steps which their parents trod before them, are never fated to encounter. Yet they incurred no disgrace: they never did any thing to forfeit their rank in society, or to compel those who knew them, or whom they desired to know, to avoid their intercourse: they lived in due respect in their own circle,

and their own times; and have left some recollections behind them, to adorn the pages of their memorial, and to cause them to be pleasingly remembered by such as came after them. CHAP. XII.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

COLLECTIONS

FOR

THE LIFE OF MILTON.

BY JOHN AUBREY, FRS.

PRINTED FROM THE MANUSCRIPT-COPY IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM AT OXFORD.

N. B. The manuscript, from which the following extract is taken, is Number X of the Aubrey manuscripts. It consists of Three Parts; and one of the Parts is titled, "An Apparatus for the Lives of our English Mathematical Writers, by Mr. John Aubrey, RSS. 1690. March 25." It is understood that Wood was allowed the use of these collections by Aubrey, when he was compiling his *Athenæ Oxonienses*. The portion here printed, is taken from Part the Third, and in one passage has the date of 1681.

The passages, interlined, or introduced in vacant places of the page, in the manuscript, are here printed between brackets. The words erased are also, for the greater satisfaction of the reader's curiosity, printed between inverted commas.

MR. JOHN MILTON

No. I. AUBREY.

Was of an Oxfordshire family: his grandfather . . . . . [a Rom. Cath.] of Holton, in Oxfordshire, neer Shotover. His father was brought up in y univ^{ty} of Oxon, at Christ Church, [his mother was a Bradshaw, Chpr Milton (his brother, the

No. I. AUBREY.

Inner Temple) barrister[a]], and his gr. father disinherited him because he kept not to the Catholique Religion [He found a Bible, in English, in his chamber]; so thereupon he came to London, and became a scrivener (brought up by a friend of his, was not an apprentice). He was an ingeniose man, delighted in musique, composed many songs now in print, especially that of Oriana, and got a plentifull estate by it, and left it off many years before he dyed.

His son Jo. was borne in Bread Street, in London, at y^e^ "Rose, *erased*," Spread Eagle, w^ch^ was his house (he had also in y^t^ street another house, the Rose, and other houses in other places). He was borne *A° D^ni^* . . . . . the . . . . . day of . . . . . about . . . . . a clock in the . . . . . He went to schoole to old Mr. Gill, at Paule's schoole, went, at his owne chardge only, to Christ College in Cambr. "very young, sc. about thirteen was the most, *erased*," [at fifteen], where he stayed eight yeares at least: then he travelled into France and Italie. At Geneva he contracted a great friendship with the learned Dr. Deodati, of Geneva (vide his Poems). [Had Sr. H. Wotton's commendatory letters]. He was acquainted, "beyond sea, *erased*," with Sr. Henry Wotton, who delighted in his company, Ambassador at Venice. He was several years [*qu.* How many? *Resp.* Two yeares] beyond sea, and returned to England just upon the breaking out of the civill warres. He was Latin Secretary to "Oliver Cr. *erased*," the Parliament.

[a] This seems to prove the family of Milton's mother against all the biographers. The evidence is of Christopher Milton concerning the name of his parent; and his testimony is certainly to be preferred to that of the amiable, but inaccurate Edward Philips, her grandson.

No. I. AUBREY.

A° *D*ni 1619 he was ten yeares old, as by his picture, and was then a poet. His school-master then was a Puritan, in Essex, who cutt his haire short.

He married his first wife . . . . . Powell, of Fost-hill, at Shotover, in Oxonshire. She was a zealous Royalist, and went without her husband's consent to her mother in the King's quarters. [She went from him to her mother's at . . . . . in y^e^ King's quarters, neer Oxford.] She dyed *A*° *D*ni . . . . .

A° *D*ni . . . . . [*sic*] by whom he had 4 children. Hath two daughters living; Deborah was his amanuensis: he taught her Latin, and to reade Greeke, "and Hebrew, qu. *erased*," to him when he lost his eie sight, w^ch^ was *A*° *D*ni . . . . . .

He was scarce so tall as I am [*Qu. quot* feet I am high? *Resp.* Of middle stature]. He had light browne [abroun] hair. His complexion exceeding fayre [He was so faire y^t^ they called him the Lady of Xt. Coll.]. Ovall face, his eie a darke gray. His widowe has his picture drawne (very well and like) when a Cambridge schollar. She has his picture when a Cambridge schollar, which ought to be engraven; for the pictures before his bookes are not *at all* like him.

He mar^d^ his 2^d^ wife, M^ris^ Eliz. Minshull, *A*° . . . . . (the yeare before the sicknesse), a gent. person, a peacefull and agreeable humour.

After he was blinde, he wrote these following bookes, *viz.*

Paradise Lost,
Paradise Regained,
Grammar,
Dictionarie, imperfect.

He was a spare man.

No. I. AUBREY.

He was an early riser, *sc.* at 4 o'clock *manè*, yea, after he lost his sight. He had a man read to him. The first thing he read was the Hebrew Bible, and that was at 4 *h. manè* ½ *h.* [*sic*] + then he contemplated. At 7 his man came to him again, and then read to him and wrote till dinner; the writing was as much as the reading. His 2[d] daughter, Deborah, could read to him Latin, Ital. and French, and Greeke. She married in Dublin to one Mr. Clarke (a mercer, sells silke); very like her father. The other sister is Mary, more like her mother. After dinner he used to walke 3 or 4 houres at a time (he always had a garden where he lived); went to bed about 9. Temperate, rarely dranke between meales. Extreme pleasant in his conversation, and at dinner, supper, &c. but satyricall.

He pronounced the letter R very hard [*Litera canina.* A certaine signe of a satyricall wit. From Jo. Dreyden].

He had a delicate tuneable voice, and had good skill. His father instructed him. He had an organ in his house, he played on that most. His exercise was chiefly walking.

He was visited much by learned, more than he did desire.

He was mightily importuned to goe into Fr. and Italie (foreigners came much to see him), and much admired him, and offered to him great preferments to come over to them, and the only inducement of severall foreigners that came over into England, was chiefly to see O. Protector, and Mr. J. Milton; and would see the *house and chamber* where *he* was borne. He was much more admired abrode than at home.

His familiar learned acquaintance were Mr. Andrew Marvell, Mr. Skinner, Dr. Paget, M D.

Mr. Skinner, who was his disciple.

No. I. AUBREY.

Jo. Dreyden, Esq, Poet Laureate, who very much admired him, and went to him to have leave to putt his Paradise Lost into a drama in rhyme. Mr. Milton received him civilly, and told him that he would give him leave to tagge his verses.

His widowe assures me that Mr. Hobbs was not one of his acquaintance, y^t^ her husband did not like him at all, but he would acknowledge him to be a man of great parts, and a learned man. Their interests and tenets were diametrically opposite [did run counter to each other].

From his bro. Chr. Milton :—

When he went to schoole, when he was very young, he studied very hard, and sate up very late; commonly till 12 or one o'clock at night, and his father ordered the mayde to sitt up for him, and in those yeares (10) composed many copies of verses, which might well become a riper age. And was a very hard student in the university, and performed all his exercises there with very good applause. His 1^st^ tutor there was Mr. Chapell, from whom receiving some unkindnesse [whipt him], he was afterwards (though it seemed opposite to the rules of the college) transferred to the tuition of one Mr. Tovell, who dyed parson of Lutterworth.[b]

[b] Much controversy and spleen have been expended upon this anecdote of Milton's having been whipped at college; and Dr. Johnson, with his characteristic malignity, professes himself "ashamed to relate, what he fears is true, that Milton was *one of the last* students in either university that suffered the indignity of corporal correction." *Erratum*, for *fears* IS *true*, read *hopes* MAY BE *true*.

For my part, I am not disposed to controvert the anecdote. It is related by Aubrey, the sincere and affectionate lover of the person of Milton, upon the authority of Christopher, Milton's brother, with whom the poet lived in friendship, and who attested it after his death.

No. I. AUBREY. I have been told that the father composed a song of four-score parts for the Lantgrave of Hesse for w^ch highnesse sent

And, after all, what is there in this tale, except that it was not worth the telling? All the venom lies in the gratuitous assumption of Dr. Johnson, that Milton was *the last*, or *one of the last*, to whom such a circumstance occurred. If sir Philip Sidney, or lord Bacon, or Edmund Burke, were whipped at school, what then? It affords no inference, except perhaps to point an argument for the abolition of so brutal and odious a practice.

In the early times of our universities, they were used in some sort as the only schools of any repute for obtaining classical knowledge in an eminent degree, and boys were sent to them at an early age. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Oxford was in the habit of receiving thirty thousand scholars: not certainly that learning was more extensively diffused then, than now; but that there were no other schools of unquestionable credit. This circumstance obviously led to the use of corporal correction there; and it is well known in our great public schools at present, that the custom being once admitted, is continued to an indecent age. Who is there that is ignorant, that all great establishments are in these respects a century behind the state of the general mind in the country where they exist, and that abuses, long after they are exploded in the improving good sense of mankind, are preserved by the mere force of prescription? Dr. William Chapel was no doubt too good an antiquarian, not to feel a strong predilection for a custom *handed down to us from our ancestors*, and too orthodox a divine not to believe that, if so essential a part of discipline were once dispensed with, the church establishment and the Christian religion could not be expected long to survive.

How Milton conducted himself at college is well known, he having, in his Apology in answer to a pamphlet supposed to be written by the son of bishop Hall, taken "occasion to acknowledge publicly with all grateful mind, that more then ordinary favour and respect, which I found above any of my equals, at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the fellows of that college wherein I spent some years: who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways, how much better it would content them that I would stay; as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time, and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me."*

It has been foolishly insinuated, that Milton, who when a man, became a strenuous

* Apology against a Pamphlet, called a Modest Confutation, &c.

a meddall of gold, or a noble present. He dyed, "in that year that the army marched through the city, *erased*," about

republican, might in his youth have been restless, rude and uncontrolable, or, in the spiteful language of Dr. Johnson, that he "thought woman made only for obedience, and man for rebellion." But there is not the smallest foundation for this. He was never mischievous or dissipated. While yet a school-boy, "he studied hard, and sat up late;"* and to this has been imputed the "first undoing of his eyes,"† which afterward terminated in blindness. In all that has been related of him, there is no indication of a rash and quarrelsome disposition: and what were his sentiments on the subject of liberty and independence in excess, may be gathered from his lines on some unquiet and turbulent spirits of his times in his twelfth sonnet.

"They bawle for freedom in their senceless mood,
And still revolt when truth would set them free:
Licence they mean, when they crie Libertie;
For who loves that, must first be wise and good."

It is however fair to observe that this incident rests solely on the authority of Aubrey, and derives no support from Milton himself. Dr. Johnson has attempted to press into the service, a passage in Milton's First Latin Elegy, to Charles Diodati. But the dates will not correspond. Milton was placed at his first going to college under Chapel (the tutor in question), and soon after removed to the care of another. But the Elegy to Diodati was clearly written at a later period. Meanwhile nothing can be more futile than the endeavour to fix Milton's general complaint of the "threats of the Master of the College, and *other things* he found at Cambridge by no means agreeable to his disposition," to this particular sense. Let it be remembered also, that Chapel was not the Master of the College, but the tutor.

Warton however, Dr. Johnson's original authority, has endeavoured to help out the imperfectness of this evidence, by roundly asserting in his "Life of Bathurst," on the pretended authority of Aubrey, that the punishment was inflicted by Dr. Thomas Bainbrigge, the Master of the College. Aubrey's Life of Milton is here printed; and every reader may see in what degree it bears out the assertion of Warton. The assertion however was necessary to support the grammatical inference: *What is* more *than*

* See above, p. 339. † Toland. See also *Defensio Secunda.*

No. I. AUBREY.

1647, buried in Cripplegate ch. from his house in the Barbican.

u. Mr. Chr. Milton to see the date of his bro. birth.

1. Of Reformation. } *Qu.* whether two
   Against Prelatical Episcopacy. } books.
2. The Reason of Church Government.
3. A Defence of Smectymnuus.
4. The Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce. } All these in pro-
5. *Colasterion.* } secution of y^e^
6. The Judgment of Martin Bucer. } same subject.
7. *Tetrachordon* (of divorce). }

Areopagitica, viz. for the Libertie of y^e^ Presse.
Of Education.
Iconoclastes.
Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.
Defensio Populi Anglicani.
Defensio 2^da^ contra Morum. His Logick.
Defensio 3^tia^.

threats of the Master, but the execution of threats by the Master? Johnson accordingly, relying on the express authority of his friend, talks of the "*public indignity* of corporal correction."—Be it observed that this sort of lie could not be the fruit of accident: Warton, no doubt, sought out the name of the Master of the College, and gratuitously supplied it. It may be amusing to remark the writhings and contortions of Warton under a conscious lie, at a later period, in his edition of Milton's Occasional Poems. No longer daring to repeat his confident assertion in the Life of Bathurst, he inserts in his note on one line the name of Bainbrigge, and the affirmative, "he was punished;" and begins the next with a specific punishment; hoping that the reader (though he had no longer the audacity to do so) would join the two propositions, and incorporate them into one imaginary fact. Warton's Life of Bathurst is pompously referred to as the authority for this. Occasional Poems, Second Edition, p. 421.

Of y^e^ Power of y^e^ Civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastical Affairs.
Against Hirelings (against Tythes).
Of a Commonwealth.
Against Dr. Griffith.
Of Toleration, Heresie, and Scisme.

He went to travell about y^e^ year 1638, and was abroad about a years space, chiefly in Italy: immediately after his return he took a lodging at Mr. Russell's, a taylour, in St. Bride's church-yard, and took into his tuition his sister's two sons, Edw. and John Philips, y^e^ first 10, the other 9 years of age; and in a year's time made them capable of interpreting a Latin authour at sight, &c. and within 3 years they went through y^e^ best of Latin and Greec poetts; Lucretius and Manilius (and with him the use of the Globes, and some rudiments of Arithm. and Geom.) of the Latins; Hesiod, Aratus, Dionysius Afer, Oppian, *Apollonii Argonautica*, and Quintus Calaber. Cato, Varro, and Columella *de Re Rustica* were the very first authors they learn't.

As he was severe on one hand, so he was most familiar and free in his conversation to those to whome most sowre in his way of education. NB. He made his nephews songsters, and sing from the time they were with him.

John Milton was born the 9^th^ of December, 1608, *die Veneris*, half an hour after 6 in the morning.

From Mr. E. Philips:—" His invention was much more free and easie in the equinoxes than in the solstices; as he more particularly found in writing his Paradise Lost. Mr. Edw.

No. I. AUBREY. Philips (his nephew and then amanuensis) hath, *erased*." All the time of writing his Paradise Lost, his veine began at the Autumnall Equinoctiall, and ceased at the Vernall, or thereabouts (I believe about May), and this was 4 or 5 yeares of his doeing it. He began about 2 yeares before the K. came in, and finished about 3 yeares after the K's restauration.

Qu. Mr. J. Playford *pro* Wilby's Sett of Orianas.

In the "2nd or 3rd, *erased*," [4th] booke of Paradise Lost there are about 6 verses of Satan's exclamation to the sun, wch Mr. E. Phi. remembers about 15 or 16 yeares before ever his Poem was thought of; wch verses were intended for the beginning of a tragœdie, wch he had designed, but was diverted from it by other businesse.

Whatever he wrote against monarchie was out of no animositie to the King's person, or out of any faction or interest, but out of a pure zeale to the Liberty of Mankind, wch he thought would be greater under a free state then under a monarchiall government. His being so conversant in Livy and the Roman authors, and the greatnes he saw donne by the Roman commonwealth, and the vertue of their great commanders [captaines] induc't him to.

His first wife (Mrs. Powell, a Royalist) was brought up and lived where there was a great deale of company and merriment, dancing, &c. And when she came to live with her husband at Mr. Russell's, in St. Bride's ch. yard, she found it very solitary; no company came to her, oftentimes heard his nephews beaten and cry. This life was irksome to her, and so she went to her parents at Foste-hill. He sent for her (after

some time), and I thinke his servant was evelly entreated, but as for wronging his bed, I never heard the least suspicions, nor had he of that any jealousie.

From Mr. Abr. Hill:—*Memorand.* His sharp writing against Alexander More, of Holland, upon a mistake, notwithstanding he had given him by the ambassador [*Qu.* the ambassador's name of Mr. Hill? *Resp.* Newport, y^e^ Dutch ambassador] all satisfaction to the contrary: *viz.* that the booke called "*Clamor*" was writt by Peter du Moulin. Well, that was all one; he having writt it, it should goe into the world; one of them was as bad as the other.

Qu. Mr. Allam, of Edm. Hall, Oxon, of Mr. J. Milton's Life, writt by himselfe. *vid. pagg.*

His sight began to faile him at first upon his writing against Salmasius, and before 'twas fully compleated one eie absolutely failed. Upon the writing of other bookes, after that, his other eie decayed.

Write his name in red letters on his picture with his widowe to preserve.

"He married Eliz. 2^d^ wife, *A^o^ D^ni^* 16.., *erased.*"

[Different rell.] Two opinions do not well on the same boulster. She was a ..... Royalist, and went to her mother neer Oxford [the K's Quarters]. I have so much charity for her that she might not wrong his bed. but what man (especially contemplative) would like to have a young wife environ'd [and storm'd] by the sons of Mars, and those of the enemi partie.

He lived in several places. *e. g.* Holborn neer K's gate. He died in Bunhill opposite the Artillery-garden-wall.

No. I. AUBREY. His harmonicall and ingeniose soule did lodge [dwelt] in a beautifull and well-proportioned body.

In toto nusquam corpore menda fuit. OVID.

He had "an extraordinarie, *erased*," a very good memory: but I believe that his excellent method of thinking, and disposing did much help his memory.

I heard that after he was blind, that he was writing, in the heads, a [Latin] Dictionary. *vidua affirmat.* She gave all his papers (among which this Dictionary imperfect) to his nephew[2], that he brought up, a sister's son, ... Philips, who lives neer the Maypole in the Strand. She has a great many letters by her from learned men of his acquaintance, both of England, and beyond sea.

In the hands of Moyses Pitt.

His eye-sight was decaying about 20 years before his death. *Qu.* when quite [starke] blind. his father read without spectacles at 84. his mother had very weak eies, and used spectacles presently after she was thirty years old.

Of a very cheerfull humour.

Seldom took any physique, only sometimes he took manna.

He was very healthy, and free from all diseases, only towards his later end, he was visited with the goute, spring and fall. he would be chearfull even in his goute-fitts: and sing.

He died of "a feaver at his house in Jewin Street about the 64th year of his age, *erased*," the goute struck in, the 9th or 10th of November 1674, as appears by his apothecaryes booke.

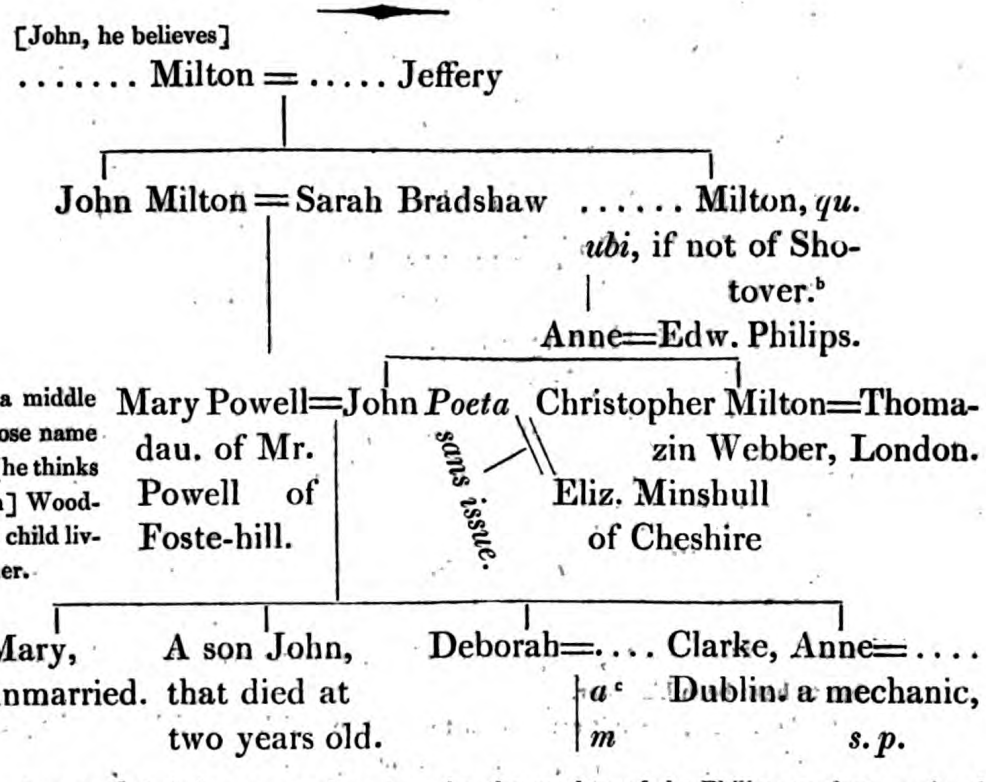
He lies buried in St Giles Cripplegate [upper end of] chancell at the right hand. *Qu.* his "stone, grave-stone, *erased.*" *Mdm.* his stone is now removed; for about 2 years since (now

1681) the two steppes to the communion-table were raysed. No. I. AUBREY.
I ghesse Jo. Speed and he lie together.

Qu. His nephew, Mr. Edw. Philips, for a perfect Catalogue of his writings. *Mdm.* he wrote a little tract of Education.

Mdm. Mr. Theodore Haak, R. S. S. hath translated halfe his Paradise Lost into High Dutch, in such blank verse, which is very well liked of by Germans. Fabricius, Professor at Heidelberg, who sent to Mr. Haak a letter upon this translation. *Incredibile est quantum nos omnes affecerit gravitas styli, et copia lectissimorum verborum, et* - - - - - -

v. the letter.



[b] It is strange, that Aubrey seems here to make the mother of the Philipses a first cousin of

No. I.

AUBREY. Set them downe according to order of time.

CATALOGUS LIBRORUM.

1. Poems, 8vo. printed. twice printed. {some writt / but at 18.
2. *Eikonoclastes*, printed at Of Reformation.
3. *Pro Pop. Ang. Defensio contra Salmasium.*
4. *Tetrachordon.* 4to. Of Divorce.
5. } Paradise {Lost. 4to.
6. } {Regain'd. 4to. Edw. Philips his [chief] amanuensis.
7. Latin Eples. 8vo. {Familiar. / Politique.
8. Latin Grammar in English. 8vo.
9. The History of Britain, from the first traditionall beginning, continued to the Norman Conquest. 4to. London, 1670, for James Alestry, Rose & Crown, P's Church Yard. *Scripsit* .....[d] *effigies* .....[d] 1670. *ætate* 62.
10. A Letter of Education to Mr. S. Hartlib. (w^{h} his Poems.)
11. A Brief History of Muscovia, and other Less Known Countries, lyeing eastward [advertisement]. writt by the author's owne hand, before he lost his sight: and intended to have printed it before his death.
12. His Logick.
13. *Idea Theologiæ*, in ms. in the hands of Mr. Skinner, [a

Milton. Elsewhere he, in agreement with all existing evidences on the subject, states her to have been his sister.

[c] The letters, "*a m*," contiguous to the line which should lead to the progeny of Milton's youngest daughter, are to me unintelligible.

[d] Something illegible here.

merchants sonne] in Marke Lane. *Mem.* There was one Mr. Skinner of y^e^ Jerkers Office, up 2 paire of stayres at the Custom House. No. I. AUBREY.

14. He wrote a Dictionary called *Idioma Linguæ Latinæ* for Mr. Packer, who was his scholar.

No. II.

THE

LIFE OF MILTON.

BY EDWARD PHILIPS.

1694.

No. II. Philips. Of all the several parts of History, that which sets forth the lives, and commemorates the most remarkable actions, sayings, or writings of famous and illustrious persons, whether in war or peace, whether many together, or any one in particular, as it is not the least useful in it self, so it is in highest vogue and esteem among the studious and reading part of mankind.

The most eminent in this way of history were, among the ancients, Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius, of the Greeks; the first wrote the Lives, for the most part, of the most renowned Heroes and Warriours of the Greeks and Romans; the other the Lives of the Ancient Greek Philosophers. And Cornelius Nepos (or as some will have it Æmilius Probus) of the Latins,

who wrote the Lives of the most illustrious Greek and Roman Generals.

Among the moderns, Machiavel a noble Florentine, who elegantly wrote the Life of Castruccio Castracani, lord of Lucca. And of our nation, sir Fulk Grevil, who wrote the Life of his most intimate friend, Sir Philip Sidney; Mr. Thomas Stanley of Cumberlo-Green, who made a most elaborate improvement to the foresaid Laertius, by adding to what he found in him, what by diligent search and enquiry he collected from other authors of best authority; [and] Isaac Walton, who wrote the Lives of Sir Henry Wotton, Dr. Donne, and for his divine poems, the admired Mr. George Herbert. Lastly, not to mention several other biographers of considerable note, the great Gassendus of France, the worthy celebrator of two no less worthy subjects of his impartial pen; *viz.* the noble philosopher Epicurus, and the most politely learned virtuoso of his age, his country-man, monsieur Peiresk.

And pity it is the person whose memory we have here undertaken to perpetuate by recounting the most memorable transactions of his life (though his works sufficiently recommend him to the world), finds not a well-informed pen able to set him forth, equal with the best of those here mentioned; for doubtless, had his fame been as much spread through Europe in Thuanus's time, as now it is, and hath been for several years, he had justly merited from that great historian, an eulogy not inferiour to the highest by him given to all the learned and ingenious that liv'd within the compass of his History. For we may safely and justly affirm, that take him in all respects, for acumen of wit, quickness of apprehension,

No. II. PHILIPS.

sagacity of judgement, depth of argument, and elegancy of style, as well in Latin as English, as well in verse as prose, he is scarce to be parallel'd by any the best of writers our nation hath in any age brought forth.

1606. He was born in London, in a house in Breadstreet, the lease whereof, as I take it, but for certain it was a house in Breadstreet, became in time part of his estate, in the year of our Lord 1606.[a] His father John Milton, an honest, worthy, and substantial citizen of London, by profession a scrivener; to which he voluntarily betook himself, by the advice and assistance of an intimate friend of his, eminent in that calling, upon his being cast out by his father, a bigoted Roman Catholick, for embracing, when young, the Protestant faith, and abjuring the Popish tenets: for he is said to have been descended of an ancient family of the Miltons, of Milton near Abingdon in Oxfordshire; where they had been a long time seated, as appears by the monuments still to be seen in Milton church; till one of the family having taken the wrong side, in the contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster, was sequestered of all his estate, but what he held by his wife. However, certain it is, that this vocation he followed for many years, at his said house in Breadstreet, with success suitable to his industry and prudent conduct of his affairs. Yet he did not so far quit his own generous and ingenious inclinations, as to make himself wholly a slave to the world; for he sometimes found vacant hours to the study (which he made his recreation) of the noble science of musick, in which he advanc'd to that per-

[a] 1608.

fection, that as I have been told, and as I take it by our author himself, he composed an *In Nomine* of forty parts: for which he was rewarded with a gold medal and chain by a Polish prince, to whom he presented it. However, this is a truth not to be denied, that for several songs of his composition, after the way of these times, (three or four of which are still to be seen in Old Wilby's set of Ayres, besides some compositions of his in Ravenscrofts Psalms), he gained the reputation of a considerable master in this most charming of all the liberal sciences. Yet all this while, he managed his grand affair of this world with such prudence and diligence, that by the assistance of divine Providence favouring his honest endeavours, he gained a competent estate, whereby he was enabled to make a handsom provision both for the education and maintenance of his children; for three he had, and no more, all by one wife, Sarah, of the family of the Castons, derived originally from Wales, a woman of incomparable vertue and goodness; John the eldest, the subject of our present work; Christopher; and an onely daughter Ann. No. H. PHILIPS.

Christopher being principally designed for the study of the common-law of England, was entered young a student of the Inner-Temple, of which house he lived to be an ancient bencher, and keeping close to that study and profession all his life-time, except in the time of the civil wars of England; when being a great favourer and assertor of the king's cause, [b]and obnoxious to the parliament's side, by acting to his utmost power against them, so long as he kept his station at

[b] he became obnoxious.

No. II. PHILIPS.

Reading; and after that town was taken by the parliament forces, being forced to quit his house there, he steer'd his course according to the motion of the king's army. But when the war was ended with victory and success to the parliament party, by the valour of General Fairfax, and the craft and conduct of Cromwell, and his composition made by the help of his brother's interest with the then prevailing power, he betook himself again to his former study and profession, following chamber-practice every term; yet came to no advancement in the world in a long time, except some small employ in the town of Ipswich, where (and near it) he lived all the latter time of his life; for he was a person of a modest, quiet temper, preferring justice and vertue before all worldly pleasure or grandeur. But in the beginning of the reign of king James the II., for his known integrity and ability in the law, he was by some persons of quality recommended to the king, and at a call of serjeants received the coif, and the same day was sworn one of the Barons of the Exchequer; and soon after made one of the Judges of the Common Pleas. But his years and indisposition not well brooking the fatigue of publick imployment, he continued not long in either of these stations; but having his *quietus est*, retired to a country life, his study and devotion.

Ann, the onely daughter of the said John Milton the elder, had a considerable dowry given her by her father, in marriage with Edward Philips, (the son of Edward Philips of Shrewsbury,) who coming up young to town, was bred up in the Crown-office in Chancery, and at length came to be Secondary of the office under old Mr. Bembo. By him she had, besides

other children that dyed infants, two sons yet surviving, of whom more hereafter; and by a second husband, Mr. Thomas Agar (who, upon the death of his intimate friend Mr. Philips, worthily succeeded in the place, which, except some time of exclusion before and during the Interregnum, he held for many years, and left it to Mr. Thomas Milton, the son of the aforementioned sir Christopher, who at this day executes it with great reputation and ability), two daughters, Mary who died very young, and Ann yet surviving. No. II. PHILIPS.

But to hasten back to our matter in hand. John our author, who was destin'd to be the ornament and glory of his countrey, was sent, together with his brother, to Paul's School, whereof Dr. Gill the elder was then chief master; where he was enter'd into the first rudiments of learning, and advanced therein with that admirable success, not more by the discipline of the school and good instructions of his masters (for that he had another master, possibly at his father's house, appears by the *Fourth Elegy* of his Latin Poems written in his 18th year, to Thomas Young, pastor of the English Company of Merchants at Hamborough, wherein he owns and stiles him his master), than by his own happy genius, prompt wit and apprehension, and insuperable industry: for he generally sate up half the night, as well in voluntary improvements of his own choice, as the exact perfecting of his school-exercises.

So that at the age of 15[c] he was full ripe for academick learning, and accordingly was sent to the University of Cambridge; where in Christ's College, under the tuition of a very 1625.

[c] He had completed his sixteenth year.

No. II. PHILIPS. 1625. eminent learned man, whose name I cannot call to mind, he studied seven years, and took his degree of Master of Arts; and for the extraordinary wit and reading he had shown in his performances to attain his degree (some whereof, spoken at a *Vacation-Exercise* in his 19th year of age, are to be yet seen in his *Miscellaneous Poems*), he was lov'd and admir'd by the whole university, particularly by the fellows and most ingenious persons of his house. Among the rest there was a young gentleman, one Mr. King, with whom, for his great learning and parts, he had contracted a particular friendship and intimacy; whose death (for he was drown'd on the Irish seas in his passage from Chester to Ireland) he bewails in that most excellent monody in his forementioned poems, intituled *Lycidas*. Never was the loss of friend so elegantly lamented; and among the rest of his *Juvenile Poems*, some he wrote at the age of 15, which contain a poetical genius scarce to be parallel'd by any English writer.

1632. Soon after he had taken his Master's degree, he thought fit to leave the university: not upon any disgust or discontent for want of preferment, as some ill-willers have reported; nor upon any cause whatsoever forc'd to flie, as his detractors maliciously feign; but from which aspersion he sufficiently clears himself in his [d]*Second Answer to Alexander Morus*, the author of a book call'd, *Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cœlum*, the chief of his calumniators; in which he plainly makes it out, that after his leaving the university, to the no small trouble of his fellow-collegiates, who in general regretted his absence, he

[d] *First Answer.*

for the space of five years lived for the most part with his father and mother at their house at Horton near Colebrook in Barkshire; whither his father, having got an estate to his content, and left off all business, was retir'd from the cares and fatigues of the world. No. II. PHILIPS. 1632.

After the said term of five years, his mother then dying, he was willing to add to his acquired learning the observation of foreign customs, manners, and institutions; and thereupon took a resolution to travel, more especially designing for Italy:[e] and accordingly, with his father's consent and assistance, he put himself into an equipage suitable to such a design; and so, intending to go by the way of France, he set out for Paris, accompanied onely with one man, who attended him through all his travels; for his prudence was his guide, and his learning his introduction and presentation to persons of most eminent quality. However, he had also a most civil and obliging letter of direction and advice from sir Henry Wootton, then 1637. 1639.

[e] There is great confusion in all the biographers of Milton respecting the period of his travels; and this confusion originates with Milton himself. He left Cambridge on taking his degree of master of arts in 1632; he assigns five years, as the interval in which he lived at home with his father and mother; and his mother died in 1637 [Symmons], upon which he set out on his travels: thus far the story is consistent. But Milton goes on to inform us, that his travels occupied a space of *fifteen months*, and that he returned to England about the time of king Charles's second expedition against the Scots, "*eodem ferme tempore quo Carolus cum Scotis, rupta pace, bellum alterum quod vocant episcopale, redintegrabat; in quo fusis primo congressu regiis copiis,—malo coactus, non sponte, parlamentum haud ita multo post convocavit.*" This can refer to no other period than the Rout at Newburn, August 1640; and Milton can less be suspected of an erroneous statement in these last two dates than the former. The result is, that a period of two years, from the spring 1637 to the spring 1639, is passed over in his narrative unnoticed. It was probably spent, like the former years, at Horton.

No. II. PHILIPS. 1639.

provost of Eaton, and formerly resident embassador from king James the First to the state of Venice; which letter is to be seen in the first edition of his *Miscellaneous Poems*.

At Paris, being recommended by the said sir Henry and other persons of quality, he went first to wait upon my lord Scudamore, then embassador in France from king Charles the First. My lord receiv'd him with wonderful civility; and understanding he had a desire to make a visit to the great Hugo Grotius, he sent several of his attendants to wait upon him, and to present him in his name to that renowned doctor and statesman, who was at that time embassador from Christina, queen of Sweden, to the French king. Grotius took the visit kindly, and gave him entertainment suitable to his worth, and the high commendations he had heard of him. After a few days, not intending to make the usual tour of France, he took his leave of my lord, who at his departure from Paris, gave him letters to the English merchants residing in any part through which he was to travel, in which they were requested to shew him all the kindness, and do him all the good offices that lay in their power.

From Paris he hastened on his journey to Nicæa, where he took shipping, and in a short space arrived at Genoa; from whence he went to Leghorn, thence to Pisa, and so to Florence. In this city he met with many charming objects, which invited him to stay a longer time than he intended; the pleasant scituation of the place, the nobleness of the structures, the exact humanity and civility of the inhabitants, the more polite and refined sort of language there, than elsewhere. During the time of his stay here, which was about two months, he visited

all the private academies of the city, which are places established for the improvement of wit and learning, and maintained a correspondence and perpetual friendship among gentlemen fitly qualified for such an institution: and such sort of academies there are in all or most of the most noted cities in Italy. Visiting these places, he was soon taken notice of by the most learned and ingenious of the nobility, and the grand wits of Florence, who caress'd him with all the honours and civilities imaginable; particularly Jacobo Gaddi, Carolo Dati, Antonio Francini, Frescobaldo, Cultellino, Bonmatthei and Clementillo: whereof [f]Gaddi hath a large elegant Italian canzonet in his praise, [and] Dati, a Latin epistle, both printed before his Latin poems, together with a Latin distich of the marquess of Villa, and another of Selvaggi, and a Latin tetrastick of Giovanni Salsilli, a Roman.

From Florence he took his journey to Sienna, from thence to Rome; where he was detain'd much about the same time he had been at Florence; as well by his desire of seeing all the rarities and antiquities of that most glorious and renowned city, as by the conversation of Lucas Holstenius, and other learned and ingenious men; who highly valued his acquaintance, and treated him with all possible respect.

From Rome he travelled to Naples, where he was introduced by a certain hermite, who accompanied him in his journey from Rome thither, into the knowledge of Giovanni Baptista Manso, marquess of Villa, a Neapolitan by birth, a person of high nobility, vertue, and honour, to whom the famous Italian

[f] It should be Francini.

No. II. PHILIPS. 1639.

poet, Torquato Tasso, wrote his treatise *De Amicitia*; and moreover mentions him with great honour in that illustrious poem of his, intituled, *Gierusalemme Liberata*. This noble marquess received him with extraordinary respect and civility, and went with him himself to give him a sight of all that was of note and remark in the city, particularly the viceroys palace, and was often in person to visit him at his lodging. Moreover, this noble marquess honoured him so far, as to make a Latin distich in his praise, as hath been already mentioned; which being no less pithy then short, though already in print, it will not be unworth the while here to repeat.

> " *Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, [mos,] si* [a] *pietas sic,*
> *Non Anglus, verum hercle Angelus ipse foret.*"

In return of this honour, and in gratitude for the many favours and civilities received of him, he presented him at his departure with a large Latin eclogue, intituled, *Mansus*, afterwards published among his *Latin Poems*. The marquess at his taking leave of him, gave him this complement, That he would have done him many more offices of kindness and civility, but was therefore rendered incapable, in regard he had been over-liberal in his speech against the religion of the country.

1640. He had entertain'd some thoughts of passing over into Sicily and Greece, but was diverted by the news he receiv'd from England, that affairs there were tending towards a civil war; thinking it a thing unworthy in him to be taking his pleasure in foreign parts, while his countreymen at home were fighting for their liberty: but first resolv'd to see Rome once

[a] This word relates to his being a Protestant, not a Roman Catholick.—E. P.

more; and though the merchants gave him a caution that the Jesuits were hatching designs against him in case he should return thither, by reason of the freedom he took in all his discourses of religion; nevertheless he ventured to prosecute his resolution, and to Rome the second time he went; determining with himself not industriously to begin to fall into any discourse about religion, but, being ask'd, not to deny or endeavour to conceal his own sentiments. No. II. PHILIPS. 1640.

Two months he staid at Rome; and in all that time never flinch'd, but was ready to defend the orthodox faith against all opposers; and so well he succeeded therein, that, good Providence guarding him, he went safe from Rome back to Florence, where his return to his friends of that city was welcomed with as much joy and affection, as, had it been to his friends and relations in his own countrey, he could not have come a more joyful and welcome guest.

Here, having staid as long as at his first coming, excepting an excursion of a few days to Lucca, crossing the Apennine, and passing through Bononia and Ferrara, he arrived at Venice; where when he had spent a month's time in viewing of that stately city, and shipp'd [h] up a parcel of curious and rare books which he had pick'd up in his travels (particularly a chest or two of choice musick-books of the best masters flourishing about that time in Italy, namely, Luca Marenzo, Monte Verde, Horatio Vecchi, Cifa, the prince of Venosa, and several others), he took his course through Verona, Milan, and the Pœnine Alps, and so by the lake Leman to Geneva; where

[h] off.

No. II. PHILIPS. 1640.

he staid for some time, and had daily converse with the most learned Giovanni Deodati, theology-professor in that city: and so returning through France, by the same way he had passed it going to Italy, he, after a peregrination of one compleat year and about three months, arrived safe in England, about the time of the kings making his second expedition against the Scots.

Soon after his return, and visits paid to his father and other friends, he took him a lodging in St. Brides church-yard, at the house of one Russel, a taylor, where he first undertook the education and instruction of his sister's two sons, the younger whereof had been wholly committed to his charge and care.

And here by the way, I judge it not impertinent to mention the many authors both of the Latin and Greek, which through his excellent judgment and way of teaching, far above the pedantry of common publick schools (where such authors are scarce ever heard of), were run over within no greater compass of time, then from ten to fifteen or sixteen years of age. Of the Latin, the four grand authors *De Re Rustica*, Cato, Varro, Columella and Palladius; Cornelius Celsus, an ancient physician of the Romans; a great part of Pliny's Natural History; Vitruvius his Architecture; Frontinus his Stratagems; with the two egregious poets, Lucretius and Manilius. Of the Greek, Hesiod, a poet equal with Homer; Aratus his *Phænomena*, and *Diosemeia*; Dionysius Afer *De Situ Orbis*; Oppian's Cynegeticks and Halieuticks; Quintus Calaber his Poem of the Trojan War continued from Homer; Apollonius Rhodius his Argonauticks: and in prose, Plutarch's *Placita Philosophorum*, and Περὶ Παιδῶν Ἀγογιας [sic]; Geminus's Astro-

nomy; Xenophon's *Cyri Institutio*, and *Anabasis;* Ælian's Tacticks; and Polyænus his Warlike Stratagems. Thus by teaching he in some measure increased his own knowledge, having the reading of all these authors as it were by proxy; and all this might possibly have conduced to the preserving of his eye-sight, had he not moreover been perpetually busied in his own laborious undertakings of the book or pen. No. II. PHILIPS. 1640.

Nor did the time thus studiously imployed in conquering the Greek and Latin tongues, hinder the attaining to the chief oriental languages, *viz.* the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac, so far as to go through the Pentateuch, or Five Books of Moses in Hebrew, to make a good entrance into the Targum, or Chaldee Paraphrase, and to understand several chapters of St. Matthew in the Syriac Testament: besides an introduction into several arts and sciences, by reading Urstisius his Arithmetick, Riffs Geometry, Petiscus his Trigonometry, Joannes de Sacro Bosco *De Sphæra;* and into the Italian and French tongues, by reading in Italian Giovan Villani's History of the Transactions between several petty States of Italy; and in French a great part of Pierre Davity, the famous geographer of France in his time.

The Sunday's work was for the most part the reading each day a chapter of the Greek Testament, and hearing his learned exposition upon the same (and how this savoured of atheism in him, I leave to the courteous backbiter to judge). The next work after this, was the writing from his own dictation, some part, from time to time, of a tractate which he thought fit to collect from the ablest of divines who had written of that sub-

No. II. PHILIPS. 1640.

ject; Amesius, Wollebius, &c. *viz.* A Perfect System of Divinity, of which more hereafter.

Now persons so far manuducted into the highest paths of literature both divine and human, had they received his documents with the same acuteness of wit and apprehension, the same industry, alacrity, and thirst after knowledge, as the instructer was indued with, what prodigies of wit and learning might they have proved! The scholars might in some degree have come near to the equalling of the master, or at least have in some sort made good what he seems to predict in the close of an Elegy he made in the seventeenth year of his age, upon the death of one of his sister's children (a daughter), who died in her infancy.

> "Then thou, the mother of so sweet a child,
> Her false, imagin'd loss cease to lament,
> And wisely learn to curb thy sorrows wild:
> This if thou do, he will an offspring give,
> That till the worlds last end shall make thy name to live."

1641. But to return to the thread of our discourse. He made no long stay in his lodgings in St. Brides church-yard; necessity of having a place to dispose his books in, and other goods fit for the furnishing of a good handsome house, hastning him to take one; and accordingly a pretty garden-house he took in Aldersgate-street, at the end of an entry, and therefore the fitter for his turn, by the reason of the privacy; besides that there are few streets in London more free from noise then that. Here first it was that his academick erudition was put in practice, and vigorously proceeded, he himself giving an

example to those under him (for it was not long after his taking this house, ere his elder nephew was put to board with him also) of hard study, and spare diet; only this advantage he had, that once in three weeks or a month, he would drop into the society of some young sparks of his acquaintance, the chief whereof were Mr. Alphry, and Mr. Miller, two gentlemen of Gray's-Inn, the beau's of those times, but nothing near so bad as those now-a-days; with these gentlemen he would so far make bold with his body, as now and then to keep a gawdy-day. 1641.

In this house he continued several years, in the one or two first whereof, he set out several treatises, *viz.* that *Of Reformation;* that *Against Prelatical Episcopacy; The Reason of Church-Government; The Defence of Smectimnuus*, at least the greatest part of them, but as I take it, all; and some time after, one sheet *Of Education*, which he dedicated to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, he that wrote so much of husbandry (this sheet is printed at the end of the second edition of his *Poems*); and lastly, *Areopagitica*.

During the time also of his continuance in this house, there fell out several occasions of the increasing of his family. His father, who till the taking of Reading by the Earl of Essex his forces, had lived with his other son at his house there, was upon that son's dissettlement necessitated to betake himself to this his eldest son, with whom he lived for some years, even to his dying day. In the next place he had an addition of some scholars; to which may be added, his entring into matrimony; but he had his wife's company so small a time, that 1643.

No. II. PHILIPS. 1643.

he may well be said to have become a single man again soon after.

About Whitsuntide it was, or a little after, that he took a journey into the country; no body about him certainly knowing the reason, or that it was any more than a journey of recreation: after a month's stay, home he returns a married-man, that went out a batchelor; his wife being Mary, the eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, then a justice of peace, of Forresthill, near Shotover in Oxfordshire; some few of her nearest relations accompanying the bride to her new habitation; which by reason the father nor any body else were yet come, was able to receive them; where the feasting held for some days in celebration of the nuptials, and for entertainment of the bride's friends. At length they took their leave, and returning to Forresthill, left the sister behind; probably not much to her satisfaction, as appeared by the sequel. By that time she had for a month or thereabout led a philosophical life (after having been used to a great house, and much company and joviality), her friends, possibly incited by her own desire, made earnest suit by letter, to have her company the remaining part of the summer, which was granted, on condition of her return at the time appointed, Michalemas, or thereabout. In the mean time came his father, and some of the foremention'd disciples.

And now the studies went on with so much the more vigour, as there were more hands and heads employ'd; the old gentleman living wholly retired to his rest and devotion, without the least trouble imaginable. Our author, now as it were a

single man again, made it his chief diversion now and then in an evening to visit the lady Margaret Lee, daughter to the —— Lee, earl of Marlborough, lord high treasurer of England, and president of the privy councel, to king James the First. This lady being a woman of great wit and ingenuity, had a particular honour for him, and took much delight in his company, as likewise her husband captain Hobson, a very accomplish'd gentleman; and what esteem he at the same time had for her, appears by a sonnet he made in praise of her, to be seen among his other *Sonnets* in his extant *Poems*. No. II. PHILIPS. 1643.

Michalemas being come, and no news of his wife's return, he sent for her by letter; and receiving no answer, sent several other letters, which were also unanswered: so that at last he dispatch'd down a foot-messenger with a letter, desiring her return. But the messenger came back not only without an answer, at least a satisfactory one, but to the best of my remembrance, reported that he was dismissed with some sort of contempt. This proceeding, in all probability, was grounded upon no other cause but this, namely, that the family being generally addicted to the cavalier party, as they called it, and some of them possibly ingaged in the king's service, who by this time had his head-quarters at Oxford, and was in some prospect of success, they began to repent them of having matched the eldest daughter of the family to a person so contrary to them in opinion; and thought it would be a blot in their escutcheon, when ever that court should come to flourish again.

However, it so incensed our author, that he thought it would be dishonourable ever to receive her again, after such 1644.

No. II. PHILIPS. 1644. a repulse; so that he forthwith prepared to fortify himself with arguments for such a resolution, and accordingly wrote two treatises, by which he undertook to maintain, that it was against reason, and the enjoynment of it not proveable by Scripture, for any married couple disagreeable in humour and temper, or having an aversion to each [other], to be forc'd to live yok'd together all their days. The first was, his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce;* of which there was printed a second 1645. edition, with some additions. The other in prosecution of the first, was styled *Tetrachordon.* Then the better to confirm his own opinion by the attestation of others, he set out a piece called *The Judgement of Martin Bucer*, a protestant minister, being a translation, out of that reverend divine, of some part of his works, exactly agreeing with him in sentiment. Lastly, he wrote in answer to a pragmatical clerk, who would needs give himself the honour of writing against so great a man, his *Colasterion*, or Rod of Correction for a Sawcy Impertinent.

Not very long after the setting forth of these treatises, having application made to him by several gentlemen of his acquaintance for the education of their sons, as understanding haply the progress he had infixed by his first undertakings of that nature, he laid out for a larger house, and soon found it out.

But in the interim before he removed, there fell out a passage, which though it altered not the whole course he was going to steer, yet it put a stop or rather an end to a grand affair, which was more than probably thought to be then in agitation: it was indeed a design of marrying one of Dr.

No. II. PHILIPS. 1645.

Davis's daughters, a very handsome and witty gentlewoman, but averse, as it is said, to this motion. However, the intelligence hereof, and the then declining state of the king's cause, and consequently of the circumstances of justice Powell's family, caused them to set all engines on work, to restore the late married woman to the station wherein they a little before had planted her: at last this device was pitch'd upon. There dwelt in the lane of St. Martins Le Grand, which was hard by, a relation of our author's, one Blackborough, whom it was known he often visited, and upon this occasion the visits were the more narrowly observ'd, and possibly there might be a combination between both parties; the friends on both sides concentring in the same action, though on different behalfs. One time above the rest, he making his usual visit, the wife was ready in another room, and on a sudden he was surprised to see one whom he thought to have never seen more, making submission and begging pardon on her knees before him. He might probably at first make some shew of aversion and rejection; but partly his own generous nature, more inclinable to reconciliation than to perseverance in anger and revenge, and partly the strong intercession of friends on both sides, soon brought him to an act of oblivion, and a firm league of peace for the future; and it was at length concluded, that she should remain at a friend's house, till such time as he was settled in his new house at Barbican, and all things for her reception in order: the place agreed on for her present abode, was the widow Webber's house in St. Clement's Church-yard, whose second daughter had been married to the other brother[1]

[1] Christopher Milton.

No. II. PHILIPS. 1645. many years before. The first fruits of her return to her husband was a brave girl, born within a year after; though, whether by ill constitution, or want of care, she grew more and more decrepit.

But it was not only by children that she increas'd the number of the family; for in no very long time after her coming, she had a great resort of her kindred with her in the house, *viz.* her father and mother, and several of her brothers and sisters, which were in all pretty numerous; who upon his 1647. father's sickning and dying soon after, went away.

And now the house look'd again like a house of the Muses only, tho the accession of scholars was not great. Possibly his proceeding thus far in the education of youth may have been the occasion of some of his adversaries calling him pædagogue and schoolmaster: whereas it is well known he never set up for a publick school to teach all the young fry of a parish, but only was willing to impart his learning and knowledge to relations, and the sons of some gentlemen that were his intimate friends;[k] besides, that neither his converse, nor his writings, nor his manner of teaching ever savour'd in the

[k] There is something beautiful in the generosity with which Edward Philips here sets himself to vindicate his uncle against the aspersions of "his adversaries;" as it is certain that the writer was "a schoolmaster," and, by the representation of Antony Wood, probably "set up for a publick school to teach all the young fry of a parish." The sentiment is, My kinsman, the great man whose merits I am commemorating, was far from being the insignificant person that I, his historian, am: I am in my proper place when I make the education of youth my daily employment, and my profession; but he was a man of a different standard, and belonging to another class of intelligences; nor is it just, that terms and ideas, sufficiently descriptive of my destination, should be applied to one, who "is scarce to be parallel'd by any the best of writers our nation hath in any age brought forth."

least any thing of pedantry; and probably he might have some prospect of putting in practice his academical institution, according to the model laid down in his sheet *Of Education*. The progress of which design was afterwards diverted by a series of alteration in the affairs of state; for I am much mistaken, if there were not about this time a design in agitation of making him adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army. But the new modelling of the army soon following, prov'd an obstruction to that design; and sir William, his commission being laid down, began, as the common saying is, to turn *cat in pan*. No. II. PHILIPS. 1647.

It was not long after the march of Fairfax and Cromwel through the city of London with the whole army, to quell the insurrections Brown and Massey, now malecontents also, were endeavouring to raise in the city against the armies proceedings, ere he left his great house in Barbican, and betook himself to a smaller in High Holbourn, among those that open backward into Lincolns-Inn Fields. Here he liv'd a private and quiet life, still prosecuting his studies and curious search into knowledge, the grand affair perpetually of his life; till such time as, the war being now at an end, with compleat victory to the Parliament's side, as the Parliament then stood purg'd of all it's dissenting members, and the king after some treaties with the army *re infecta*, brought to his tryal; the form of government being now chang'd into a free state, he was hereupon oblig'd to write a treatise, call'd *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. 1649.

After which his thoughts were bent upon retiring again to his own private studies, and falling upon such subjects as his

No. II. PHILIPS. 1649.

proper genius prompted him to write of, among which was the history of our own nation from the beginning till the Norman Conquest, wherein he had made some progress. When (for this his last treatise, reviving the fame of other things he had formerly published) being more and more taken notice of for his excellency of stile, and depth of judgement, he was courted into the service of this new Commonwealth, and at last prevail'd with (for he never hunted after preferment, nor affected the tintamar and hurry of publick business) to take upon him the office of Latin secretary to the Counsel of State, for all their letters to foreign princes and states: for they stuck to this noble and generous resolution, not to write to any, or receive answers from them, but in a language most proper to maintain a correspondence among the learned of all nations in this part of the world; scorning to carry on their affairs in the wheedling, lisping jargon of the cringing French, especially having a minister of state able to cope with the ablest any prince or state could imploy, for the Latin tongue. And so well he acquitted himself in this station, that he gain'd from abroad both reputation to himself, and credit to the state that employed him.

And it was well the business of his office came not very fast upon him; for he was scarce well warm in his secretaryship, before other work flow'd in upon him, which took him up for some considerable time. In the first place there came out a book said to have been written by the king, and finished a little before his death, entituled Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, that is, *The Royal Image;* a book highly cryed up for it's smooth style, and pathetical composure; wherefore to obviate the impres-

sion it was like to make among the many, he was obliged to write an answer, which he entituled Εικονοκλαστης, or *Image-Breaker*. No. II. PHILIPS. 1649.

And upon the heels of that, out comes in publick the great kill-cow of Christendom, with his *Defensio Regis contra Populum Anglicanum*:[1] a man so famous and cryed up for his Plinian Exercitations, and other pieces of reputed learning, that there could no where have been found a champion that durst lift up the pen against so formidable an adversary, had not our little English David had the courage to undertake this great French Goliah. To whom he gave such a hit in the forehead, that he presently staggered, and soon after fell. For immediately upon the coming out of the answer, entituled, 1651. *Defensio Populi Anglicani contra Claudium Anonymum, &c.* he that till then had been chief minister and superintendant in the court of the learned Christina queen of Sweden, dwindled in esteem to that degree, that he at last vouchsafed to speak to the meanest servant. In short, he was dismiss'd with so cold and slighting an adieu, that after a faint dying reply, he was glad to have recourse to death, the remedy of evils, and 1652. ender of controversies.

And now I presume our author had some breathing space; but it was not long. For though Salmasius was departed, he left some stings behind; new enemies started up, barkers, though no great biters. Who the first assertor of Salmasius his cause was, is not certainly known, but variously conjectur'd

[1] This title every one will see to be a mistatement: no man ever *professed* to write *against a people*, for their governors. The proper title is *Defensio Regia pro Carolo Primo ad Carolum Secundum.*

No. II. PHILIPS. 1652. at, some supposing it be one Janus a lawyer of Grays-Inn, some Dr. Bramhal, made by king Charles the Second after his Restauration archbishop of Armagh in Ireland: but whoever the author was, the book was thought fit to be taken into correction; and our author not thinking it worth his own undertaking, to the disturbing the progress of whatever more chosen work he had then in hands, committed this task to the youngest of his nephews; but with such exact emendations before it went to the press, that it might have very well passed for his, but that he was willing the person that took the pains to prepare it for his examination and polishment, should have the name and credit of being the author; so that it came forth under this title, *Joannis Philippi Angli Defensio pro Populo Anglicano contra, &c.*[m]

1649. During the writing and publishing of this book, he lodg'd at one Thomson's next door to the Bull-head tavern at Charing-Cross, opening into the Spring-Garden; which seems to have been only a lodging taken, till his designed apartment in Scotland-Yard was prepared for him. For hither he soon
1650. removed from the foresaid place; and here his third child, a son, was born, which through the ill usage, or bad constitution of an ill-chosen nurse, died an infant.

1652. From this apartment, whether he thought it not healthy, or otherwise convenient for his use, or whatever else was the reason, he soon after took a pretty garden-house in Petty-France in Westminster, next door to the lord Scudamore's, and opening into St. James's Park. Here he remain'd no

[m] This title is given from memory and inaccurately.

less than eight years, namely, from the year 1652, till within a few weeks of king Charles the 2d's Restoration. 1652.

In this house his first wife dying in childbed, he married a second, who after a year's time died in childbed also. 1657. This his second marriage was about two or three years after his being wholly depriv'd of sight, which was just going, about the time of his answering Salmasius; whereupon his adversaries gladly take occasion of imputing his blindness as a judgment upon him for his answering the king's book, &c.[n] whereas it is most certainly known, that his sight, what with his continual study, his being subject to the head-ake, and his perpetual tampering with physick to preserve it, had been decaying for above a dozen years before, and the sight of one for a long time clearly lost. Here he wrote, by his amanuensis, his two *Answers to Alexander More;* who upon the last answer quitted the field.

So that being now quiet from state adversaries and publick contests, he had leisure again for his own studies and private designs; which were his foresaid *History of England*; and a new *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ*, according to the manner of Stephanus; a work he had been long since collecting from his own reading, and still went on with it at times, even very near to his dying day; but the papers after his death were so discomposed and deficient, that it could not be made fit for the press; however, what there was of it, was made use of for another dictionary. 1655.

But the heighth of his noble fancy and invention began now

[n] *Regii Sanguinis Clamor*, 1652.

No. II. Phillips. 1655.

to be seriously and mainly imployed in a subject worthy of such a Muse, *viz.* a heroick poem, entitled, *Paradise Lost*; the noblest in the general esteem of learned and judicious persons, of any yet written by any either ancient or modern. This subject was first designed a tragedy, and in the fourth book of the poem there are six verses, which several years before the poem was begun, were shewn to me and some others, as designed for the very beginning of the said tragedy. The verses are these;

"O thou that with surpassing glory crown'd!
Look'st from thy sole dominion, like the god
Of this new world; at whose sight all the stars
Hide their diminish'd heads; to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice; and add thy name,
O Sun! to tell thee how I hate thy beams
That bring to my remembrance, from what state
I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere;
Till pride and worse ambition threw me down,
Warring in Heaven, against Heaven's °glorious King."

There is another very remarkable passage in the composure of this poem, which I have a particular occasion to remember; for whereas I had the perusal of it from the very beginning, for some years, as I went from time to time, to visit him, in a parcel of ten, twenty, or thirty verses at a time, which being written by whatever hand came next, might possibly want correction as to the orthography and pointing; having as the summer came on, not been shewed any for a considerable while, and desiring the reason thereof, was answered, That his

matchless.

vein never happily flow'd, but from the autumnal equinoctial to the vernal, and that whatever he attempted [otherwise] was never to his satisfaction, though he courted his fancy never so much, so that in all the years he was about this poem, he may be said to have spent but half his time therein. No. II. PHILIPS. 1655.

It was but a little before the king's Restoration that he wrote and published his book *In Defence of a Commonwealth*; so undaunted he was in declaring his true sentiments to the world; and not long before, his *Power of the Civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastical Affairs*; and his *Treatise against Hirelings*, just upon the king's coming over; having a little before been sequestred from his office of Latin secretary, and the salary thereunto belonging. 1660.

He was forced to leave his house also in Petty-France, where all the time of his abode there, which was eight years, as above-mentioned, he was frequently visited by persons of quality, particularly my lady Ranala, whose son for some time he instructed; all learned foreigners of note, who could not part out of this city, without giving a visit to a person so eminent; and lastly, by particular friends that had a high esteem for him, *viz.* Mr. Andrew Marvel, young Lawrence (the son of him that was president of Oliver's council), to whom there is a sonnet among the rest, in his printed *Poems*; Mr. Marchamont Needham, the writer of *Politicus*; but above all, Mr. Cyriack Skinner whom he honoured with two sonnets, one long since publick among his *Poems*; the other but newly printed.

His next removal was, by the advice of those that wisht him well, and had a concern for his preservation, into a place

No. II. PHILIPS. 1660.

of retirement and abscondence, till such time as the current of affairs for the future should instruct him what farther course to take. It was a friend's house in Bartholomew-Close, where he liv'd till the act of oblivion came forth; which it pleased God, prov'd as favourable to him as could be hop'd or expected, through the intercession of some that stood his friends both in council and parliament; particularly in the House of Commons, Mr. Andrew Marvel, a member for Hull, acted vigorously in his behalf, and made a considerable party for him; so that, together with John Goodwin of Coleman-Street, he was only so far excepted as not to bear any office in the commonwealth.

1661. Soon after appearing again in publick, he took a house in Holborn near Red Lyon Fields; where he stay'd not long, before his pardon having pass'd the seal, he remov'd to Jewin-

1662. Street. There he liv'd when he married his 3d wife, recommended to him by his old friend Dr. Paget in Coleman-Street.

But he stay'd not long after his new marriage, ere he remov'd to a house in the Artillery-walk leading to Bunhill Fields. And this was his last stage in this world, but it was of many years continuance, more perhaps than he had had in any other place besides.

1666. Here he finisht his noble poem, and publisht it in the year 1666. The first edition was printed in quarto by one Simons, a printer in Aldersgate-Street; the other in a large octavo, by Starky near Temple-Bar, amended, enlarg'd, and differently dispos'd as to the number of books, by his own hand, that is by his own appointment; the last set forth, many years since his death, in a large folio, with cuts added, by Jacob Tonson.

Here it was also that he finisht and publisht his History of our Nation till the Conquest, all compleat so far as he went; some passages only excepted; which, being thought too sharp against the clergy, could not pass the hand of the licenser, were in the hands of the late earl of Anglesey while he liv'd; where at present is uncertain. No. II. PHILIPS. 1670.

It cannot certainly be concluded when he wrote his excellent tragedy entitled *Samson Agonistes*, but sure enough it is that it came forth after his publication of *Paradice lost*, together with his other poem call'd *Paradice regain'd*, which doubtless was begun and finisht and printed after the other was publisht, and that in a wonderful short space considering the sublimeness of it; however it is generally censur'd to be much inferiour to the other, though he could not hear with patience any such thing when related to him. Possibly the subject may not afford such variety of invention; but it is thought by the most judicious to be little or nothing inferiour to the other, for style and decorum. 1671.

The said earl of Anglesey whom he presented with a copy of the unlicens'd papers of his History, came often here to visit him, as very much coveting his society and converse; as likewise others of the nobility, and many persons of eminent quality; nor were the visits of foreigners ever more frequent than in this place, almost to his dying day.

His treatise *Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism and Toleration, &c.* was doubtless the last thing of his writing that was publisht before his death. He had, as I remember, prepared for the press an answer to some little scribing quack in London, who had written a scurrilous libel against him; but whether 1673.

No. II. PHILIPS. 1673.

by the disswasion of friends, as thinking him a fellow not worth his notice, or for what other cause I know not, this answer was never publisht.

He died in the year 1673, towards the latter end of the summer,[p] and had a very decent interment according to his quality, in the church of St. Giles Cripplegate, being attended from his house to the church by several gentlemen then in town, his principal well-wishers and admirers.

He had three daughters who surviv'd him many years (and a son) all by his first wife (of whom sufficient mention hath been made): Anne his eldest as abovesaid, and Mary his second, who were both born at his house in Barbican; and Debora the youngest, who is yet living, born at his house in Petty-France, between whom and his second daughter, the son, named John, was born as above-mentioned, at his apartment in Scotland Yard. By his second wife, Catharine the daughter of captain Woodcock of Hackney, he had only one daughter, of which the mother, the first year after her marriage, died in child bed, and the child also within a month after. By his third wife Elizabeth the daughter of one Mr. Minshal of Cheshire (and kinswoman to Dr. Paget), who surviv'd him, and is said to be yet living, he never had any child.

And those he had by the first he made serviceable to him in that very particular in which he most wanted their service, and supplied his want of eye-sight by their eyes and tongue. For though he had daily about him one or other to read to

[p] November 8, 1674.

him; some persons of man's estate, who of their own accord greedily catch'd at the opportunity of being his readers, that they might as well reap the benefit of what they read to him, as oblige him by the benefit of their reading; others of younger years sent by their parents to the same end; yet, excusing only the eldest daughter by reason of her bodily infirmity, and difficult utterance of speech (which to say truth I doubt was the principal cause of excusing her), the other two were condemn'd to the performance of reading, and exactly pronouncing of all the languages of whatever book he should at one time or other think fit to peruse; *viz.* The Hebrew (and I think the Syriac), the Greek, the Latin, the Italian, Spanish and French. All which sorts of books to be confined to read, without understanding one word, must needs be a trial of patience, almost beyond endurance: yet it was endured by both for a long time. Yet the irksomeness of this employment could not be always concealed, but broke out more and more into expressions of uneasiness; so that at length they were all (even the eldest also) sent out to learn some curious and ingenious sorts of manufacture, that are proper for women to learn, particularly imbroideries in gold or silver. It had been happy indeed, if the daughters of such a person had been made in some measure inheritrixes of their father's learning; but since fate otherwise decreed, the greatest honour that can be ascribed to this now living (and so would have been to the others, had they lived) is to be daughter to a man of his extraordinary character.

He is said to have dyed worth 1500*l.* in money (a consider-

No. II. Philips.

able estate, all things considered) besides houshold goods; for he sustained such losses as might well have broke any person less frugal and temperate then himself; no less then 2000*l.* which he had put for security and improvement into the excise office, but neglecting to recal it in time, could never after get it out, with all the power and interest he had in the great ones of those times; besides another great sum, by mismanagement and for want of good advice.

Thus I have reduced into form and order what ever I have been able to rally up, either from the recollection of my own memory of things transacted while I was with him, or the information of others equally conversant afterwards, or from his own mouth by frequent visits to the last.

1652. I shall conclude with two material passages, which though they relate not immediately to our author, or his own particular concerns; yet in regard they hapned during his publick employ, and consequently fell most especially under his cognizance; it will not be amiss here to subjoin them. The first was this:

Before the war broke forth between the States of England and the Dutch, the Hollanders sent over three embassadours in order to an accommodation; but they returning *re infecta*, the Dutch sent away a plenipotentiary, to offer peace upon much milder terms, or at least to gain more time. But this plenipotentiary could not make such haste, but that the parliament had procured a copy of their instructions in Holland, which were delivered by our author to his kinsman that was then with him, to translate for the council to view, before the

said plenipotentiary had taken shipping for England; [and] an answer to all he had in charge lay ready for him, before he made his publick entry into London.

In the next place there came a person with a very sumptuous train, pretending himself an agent from the prince of Conde, then in arms against cardinal Mazarine: the parliament mistrusting him, set their instrument so busily at work, that in four or five days they had procured intelligence from Paris, that he was a spy from king Charles: whereupon the very next morning our author's kinsman was sent to him, with an order of councel commanding him to depart the kingdom within three days, or expect the punishment of a spy.

By these two remarkable passages, we may clearly discover the industry and good intelligence of those times.[q]

The Life of Milton by Edward Philips is undoubtedly an invaluable relic. If Dr. Johnson had not been wholly void of

[q] It was not till after a more careful examination of this passage, that I perceived it to contain a precise evidence of the employment of John Philips in the office of Milton; thus turning what was stated as a conjecture, page 19, into an undoubted fact. Thus we see the various destination of the brothers in early life: Edward Philips was sent to college in 1648; John, in the following year, was appointed clerk in the office of Latin secretary. In the year 1652 he wrote his Answer to Rowland, in behalf of Milton; in 1655 he issued from the press his Satyr against Hypocrites. We must suppose therefore, either that in this interval his official connection with his uncle was dissolved by the impatience of a youthful temper, or for misbehaviour; or else that the Satyr against Hypocrites was sent into the world with all possible precaution and secrecy, and that John Philips partook of the copious draughts of the discontented, at the same time that he personated to Milton the character of a demure and hopeful youth, adequately furnished with those dispositions, which were to render him the man in after life that his uncle anxiously wished him to be.

No. II. the principles of true taste, he would have said of these pages, and not of Fenton's, "I might perhaps have more properly contented myself with the addition of a few notes," to what the nephew of the poet has already done.

In one sense the narrative of Edward Philips may reasonably be complained of as jejune and barren. The writer certainly knew much more of Milton than he has told. If he had reflected how precious every little incident of Milton's history, every reflection that he related as occurring to him, in a walk, or a journey, on what he saw, or what he read, would have been to the poet's future admirers, he would not have confined himself within so slender limits.

But let us make the best of what we are so fortunate as to possess. Edward Philips's narrative is modest and unpretending. But, if he does not tell us all that he could have told, there is an exemplary exactness in his pages as to the external circumstances of Milton. We possess (thanks to the industry of the nephew) a fuller knowledge concerning him in this respect, than we do concerning any other poet of the highest class, that our island has produced. We can trace him from year to year through the whole of his existence, and tell in what degree he was surrounded with and in what degree he was denied the conveniences, the accommodations, and the luxuries of life. There is an inexpressible satisfaction in this. Cicero discharged the offices of an author, with the possession of sixteen villas differently adapted for his gratification; and some other eminent genius has written his works perhaps cribbed and pent up in the confinement of a garret: Cervantes, of a prison. Both these circumstances are disadvanta-

geous. The man of opulence is many ways incumbered; the necessitous man may perhaps retain the pride and independence of his spirit, but not in so clear and sparkling a hue as if the world had not frowned upon him. Blessed therefore was the mediocrity of Milton; and enviable was the situation of the blind bard of England, especially in the last and best twelve years of his life, when, in addition to many other sources of tranquillity, he was constantly surrounded with the affectionate and pious attentions of Elizabeth Minshull.[a]

No. II. PHILIPS.

[a] Chap. XI, p. 276.

No. III.

ADDITION TO CHAPTER X.

The following paragraph should have been inserted, page 240, line 5:

No. III. It also appears from Wood, that Edward Philips gave to the press A Poem on the Coronation of James the Second, which I have never seen. I own that I feel grieved at this. John Philips might enlist himself among the flatterers of this inauspicious reign; he had already made an obnoxious appearance, and he offered up his Pindaric Odes as a sort of atonement for past political offences; add to which, John Philips was a busy, pragmatical man, and was accustomed to stand forward in some way or other, in every party that successively bore the vogue. But his elder brother was quiet, inoffensive and retired; and it would have been most consistent with his character, as well as conducive to his credit, to be silent, when no lover of his country would have chosen to pollute his lips with words of approbation. It is probable that the Poem he thus produced, was set to music, and that the performance of it by the royal band, made part of the solemnities of the Coronation.

No. IV.

ON

BEN JONSON,

AND

MILTON'S IMITATIONS OF THAT AUTHOR.

It will not perhaps be held altogether inadmissible, if before we close a volume which is consecrated to the name of Milton, a few thoughts are here thrown together on the tastes and partialities of our great poet, and the sort of author among his predecessors that he chiefly had in his eye, and whom he seems principally to resemble in his style of composition. I shall confine myself to one writer; nor should I attempt in the slightest degree to occupy the reader on the subject, were it not that to the best of my knowledge I have scarcely been anticipated in any thing I have to say.

The author to whom I allude is Ben Jonson. And a principal reason why I thus invite the public consideration to his writings, is that they do not seem at this moment to possess that degree of popular favour, to which in my judgment they

No. IV. Jonson. are well entitled. It is somewhat singular, that at the time when Addison dared to talk of Spenser as a writer, who "with ancient tales amused a barbarous age,"[a] but who now "can charm an understanding age no more,"[a] and when Pope enquired, "Who reads Cowley now?" the laurels of Ben Jonson were unwithered; and that at the present day, when fifty illustrious authors are restored to our love, whom the folly of our immediate ancestors consigned to the tomb of the Capulets, Jonson alone seems to have fallen off in the general esteem.

One reason of this is, that his lesser light is obscured by the sun of Shakespear; and this disadvantage is incurable. But there are other reasons. He is admitted to have had talents; but he is judged harsh, repulsive and unamiable. He is too deeply intrenched in the fortifications of his learning. He is thought to have dealt perpetually in idioms imported from the classical writers, wholly alien to the genius of our language. The mind of man shrinks with conscious independence, from an author, who bids us censure him at our peril, and daringly assures us that the composition we are about to read is the abstract of all excellence, a work over which the corroding tooth of time shall have no power. Jonson often seems to aspire to be the poet of good sense, rather than of fancy. On many occasions he has little sacrificed to the Graces. And in several of his longer poems, and "Speeches according to Ho-

[a] Account of the Greatest English Poets, to Mr. Henry Sacheverel. This poem, dated 1694, might have been quoted among the early testimonies to the eminence of Milton, and indeed contributes to prove the estimation in which he was then held, but is too poorly written to allow of an extract being inserted here.

race," as he calls them, he is flat, heavy and tedious; and having in a small degree won upon our attention in the beginning, brings us, after a lapse of thirty or forty lines, into a state of listlessness, incapable of pursuing to the end a vapid argument, rendered more vapid by the discordant numbers in which it is attired.

Much of this is certainly true. But these are scattered features, and do not constitute the literary character of Jonson.

It is not to the purpose of this Essay to treat of the merits of this eminent author as a comic writer, though these perhaps compose his strongest claim to the admiration of all posterity. He excels every writer that ever existed in the article of humour; and it is a sort of identical proposition to say, that humour is the soul of comedy. Even the caustic severity of his turn of mind aided him in this. He seized with the utmost precision the weaknesses of human character, and painted them with a truth that is altogether irresistible. Shakespear has some characters of humour marvellously felicitous. But the difference between these two great supporters of the English drama, in the point of view we are considering, lies here. Humour is not Shakespear's mansion, the palace wherein he dwells; there are many of his comedies, where the humorous characters rather form the episode of the piece; poetry, the manifestation of that lovely medium through which all creation appeared to his eye, and the quick sallies of repartee, are the objects with which his comic muse more usually delights herself. But Ben Jonson is all humour; and the fer-

No. IV. Jonson.

tility of his muse in characters of this sort is wholly inexhaustible.

Yet, out of his very excellence, the ill-nature of imaginative criticism has drawn the ingredients with which to demolish the better part of his fame. Many have concluded, because he had a manly severity and steadiness of judgment, that he had a cold and unsusceptible spirit, that his writings are uniformly rugged and harsh, and that he was devoured with malice and envy towards his illustrious contemporaries. This is no bad specimen of the way in which mankind is apt, from a few scattered hints, to fill up a portrait. It must be confessed there is some keeping in the design; its fault is, that it has no pretensions to likeness. Whether Ben Jonson was a man of cold conceptions and feelings, or his writings on all occasions rugged and harsh, we shall presently have occasion to enquire. But that he was envious, and sparing in commendation to his contemporaries, may as well immediately be denied. His Commendatory Verses on Shakespear, Drayton, Donne, Fletcher, Sir John Beaumont, and others, may easily be consulted; and he that finds in them any penury of praise, any malicious ambiguity, or concealed detraction, may safely be affirmed to have brought a mind already poisoned to their perusal. Let me produce an example from the fervent generosity with which he replies to the friendly epistle of Beaumont, the dramatist.

> "How I doe loue thee, Beaumont, and thy Muse,
> That vnto me dost such religion vse!
> How I doe feare my selfe, that am not worth,
> The least indulgent thought thy pen drops forth!"

No. IV. JONSON.

A great deal of the injustice which Ben Jonson has suffered under this head has proceeded from the misfortune of his visit to Drummond of Hawthornden, and therefore on that subject I beg to be allowed to say a few words. Jonson was already forty-seven years of age,[b] had finished all his great works, and was classed by his contemporaries, however unjustly, above Shakespear, and every English writer then living, when he conceived the design, struck with some beautiful effusions of the Scottish poet, of journeying on foot from London to Hawthornden to pay him a visit. Heroical and generous was certainly the sentiment, that soothed his uneasy steps, and beguiled the weariness of the way. He was received no doubt with hospitality and the semblance of affection: and when he came home again, the first thing done by the illustrious votary of the English Muse, was at Drummond's request to send him a most beautiful Madrigal, "On a Lovers Dust made Sand for an Hour-Glass," with this Inscription,[c]

"To the Honouring Respect
Born
To the Friendship contracted with
The Right Virtuous and Learned
Mr. William Drummond,
And the Perpetuating the Same by all offices of Love Hereafter,
I Benjamin Jonson,
Whom he hath honoured with the leave to be called His,
Have with mine own Hand, to satisfy his Request,
Written this Imperfect Song."

[b] This appears from the verses quoted in a following page: and as the visit was paid in 1619, it follows that Jonson was born two years earlier than is commonly stated.

[c] The Inscription is only to be found in the works of Drummond, Fol. 1711. An incorrect copy of the Madrigal occurs in Jonson's Underwoods.

No. IV. Jonson.

Drummond also did his part, and has, after his fashion, consecrated the memory of this extraordinary visit, by putting down the "Heads of Certain Conversations"[d] between them, every word of which is a libel on the man, whom he made to believe that he was regarded by him with sentiments of the sincerest friendship. The question that remains is, how far a libeller and a treacherous ally is to be admitted for a competent witness; and the incompetence may as infallibly be produced by a diseased vision in the observer (such as led Drummond in this paper to affirm generally of his guest, that he was "a great lover and praiser of himself, a contemner and scorner of others"), as by the most resolute spirit of deliberate falshood.

Few readers have paid that attention which is due, to the lyric poetry of those English writers who were born in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and whom Edward Philips in the *Theatrum Poetarum* styles "the writers of those pretty old pastoral airs, sonnets and madrigals, which were very much the strain of those times." Many of their productions may safely be affirmed to equal in sweetness and harmony of versification the happiest effusions of modern times, which no one will dispute they greatly exceed in manliness of sense, and a rich and profound style of thinking.

The most eminent of these, in many respects, is sir Philip Sidney, and his series of songs and sonnets, entitled "Astrophel and Stella," contains some of the finest examples in this species of composition, that the world can produce. The sub-

[d] Works of Drummond, Fol. 1711.

ject of which they treat, the passion avowed by the author, for Penelope lady Rich, a married woman, sister to the unfortunate earl of Essex, is certainly deserving of much regret. It affords a strange picture of the morality of the age of Elizabeth, which we are accustomed to regard, and in many respects justly, as the model of honourable sentiments, and chaste and chivalrous manners, when we see Sir Philip Sidney, that illustrious character against which calumny itself never breathed a censure, making a public exhibition of such addresses, speaking contemptuously of the husband, and employing all the arts of poetical seduction to contaminate the mind of the woman he adores. It may be, this is fiction merely, an imaginary basis on which to repose the efforts of his genius: still that is a consideration that by no means destroys the inferences to be made. We must also remark the grossness and carnality, that characterise the fifty-second sonnet, and the second, the tenth, and other of the songs. But what it is to our purpose to observe is, in addition to the beauty of some of the sonnets, that the eighth, the ninth and the eleventh songs in particular, are perfect models of an unaffected style and a melodious versification.

The other great pillar and patriarch of our poetry at this period is Spenser; and it is in his "Two Hymns to Love and Beauty" that we are to look for his most fascinating specimens of lyric composition. These were, as he tells us, "composed in the greener times of his youth," and it cannot certainly be decided whether they, or the "Astrophel and Stella," were the first produced. It is obvious to remark the extreme dissimilarity of character with which the one and the other is

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stamped. The production of Sidney has infinite ingenuity and variety, striking touches of nature, and an exquisite and harmonious versification, but is coarse and sensual in its conception: while Spenser's Hymns lead us into a world of the poet's own creation, where all is delicate, soft and refined, worthy of the sweet and seraphic soul of its author, and wholly unstained with that sensuality which is the dishonour of the age in which he wrote.

It would be the highest injustice to pass over here unnamed the poems ascribed to Richard Barnefield, particularly one on Philomela, which is inserted in that division of Shakespear's Poems, entitled "The Passionate Pilgrim."

No reader can be supposed so ignorant, that it should be necessary to recommend to him the lyric productions of Shakespear, whether contained in the volume of his Poems, or those which are interspersed in his dramatic works.

In the Catalogue of poets of this class in the age of which we speak, the name of Ben Jonson will occupy no inglorious place; and Milton will certainly be found to have studied his compositions in this kind more assiduously, than those of any of his contemporaries. The following Verses to Celia, unfortunately founded on the faulty ethical system of sir Philip Sidney, are entitled to be inserted here on account of the use which Milton has made of them.[e]

"Come, my Celia, let vs proue,
While we may, the sports of loue:
Time will not be ours for euer;
He at length our good will seuer;

[e] The Forest, No. 5.

Spend not then his guifts in vaine :[f]
Sunnes that set, may rise again ;
But, if once we loose this light,
'Tis with vs perpetuall night.
Why should we deferre our ioyes ;
Fame and Rumor are but toyes :[g]
Cannot we delude the eyes
Of a few poore houshold spyes ?
Or his easier eares beguile,
So removed by our wile ?
'Tis no sinne loue's fruit to steal ;—
But the sweet theft to reueale,
To be taken, to be seen,
These have crimes accounted beene." [h]

The following Song of Hesperus, addressed to the Moon, in the fifth act of Cynthia's Revels, appears to me exquisitely simple and majestic.

" Qveene, and huntresse, chaste and faire,
Now the sunne is laid to sleepe,
Seated in thy siluer chaire,
State in wonted manner keepe : [i]

[f] " If you let slip time, like a neglected rose
It withers on the stalk with languished head.
There was another meaning in these gifts ;
Think what, and be advised : you are but young yet
Comus, ver. 743, 754.

[g] " Come, no more !
This is mere moral babble, and direct
Against the canon laws of our foundation."
Ibid. ver. 806.

[h] " Come, let us our rites begin ;
'Tis only day-light that makes sin."
Ibid. ver. 125.

[i] Come, but keep thy wonted state."
Il Penseroso, ver. 37.

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JONSON.

Hesperus intreats thy light,
Goddesse excellently bright.

" Earth, let not thy enuious shade
Dare it selfe to interpose;
Cynthias shining orbe was made
Heaven to cleere, when day did close:
Bless us then with wished sight,
Goddesse excellently bright.

" Lay thy bow of pearle apart,
And thy chrystal shining quiuer;
Give vnto the flying hart
Space to breathe, how short soeuer:
Thou that mak'st a day of night,
Goddesse excellently bright."

Ben Jonson appears in his youth to have been enamoured of a lady, called Celia, whom he represents as a married woman. When he had somewhat passed the meridian of human life, he makes his addresses to another mistress, whom he names Charis. It may be that both these ladies were rather chosen as themes of the poet's song, than regarded by him as the objects of his real address.

Of the unsuccessful event of his love for Charis he speaks, in a short copy of verses, accompanying the madrigal which has already been mentioned, sent by him to the unworthy Drummond.[k] It begins:

" I doubte that love is rather deafe then blind,
For else it could not be, that she
Whom I adore so much, should so slight me,
And cast my love behind."

[k] Works, Fol. 1711. There is a copy with some slight variation in the Underwoods.

The disappointed lover proceeds with conscious worth :

" I 'm sure my language to her was as sweet,
And every close did meet
In sentence of as subtile feet,
As hath the youngest hee,
That sits in shadow of Apollo's tree."

Recollection however then returns, to instruct him in the cause of his miscarriage :

" Oh, but my conscious feares,
That flie my thoughts betweene,
Tell me that she hath seene,
My hundreds of gray haires
Told seven-and-fortie years ;
Read so much wast, as she cannot imbrace
My mountaine belly, and my rockie face :
And all these through her eyes have stopt her eares.

The following may serve as an example, whether the poet spoke with too presumptuous a confidence, when he asserted the smoothness of his language, and the melody of his versification.[1]

" Charis one day in discourse
Had of Love, and of his force,
Lightly promis'd she would tell
What a man she could love well :
And that promise set on fire
All that heard her with desire.
With the rest I long expected
When the worke would be effected."

The unfortunate suitor, no longer young, finds her delaying to

[1] Underwoods : the Eighth Lyrick.

No. IV. JONSON.

perform her promise, and every day spinning some new excuse: He importunes her:[m]

" Therefore, Charis, you must do't,
For I will so urge you to't,
You shall neither eat, nor sleepe."

Then follows:[n]

HER MAN DESCRIBED BY HER OWN DICTAMEN.

" Of your trouble, Ben, to ease me,
I will tell what man would please me.
I would have him, if I could,
Noble,—or of greater blood;
Titles, I confesse, doe take me,
And a woman God did make me;
French to boote,—at least in fashion,
And his manners of that nation.
" Young I'd have him to, and faire,
Yet a man; with crisped haire,
Cast in thousand snares and rings,
For Loves fingers, and his wings;
Chestnut colour, or more slack,
Gold upon a ground of black;
Venus and Minervas eyes,
For he must look wanton wise.
" Eye-brows bent like Cupids bow,
Front, an ample field of snow;
Even nose, and cheeke withall
Smooth as is the billiard ball;
Chin as woolly as the peach;
And his lip should kissing teach,
Till he cherish'd too much beard,
And make Love or me afeard.
. . . . . .

[m] Underwoods: the Eighth Lyrick.

[n] The Ninth Lyrick.

" Valiant he should be as fire,
Shewing danger, more then ire;
Bounteous as the clouds to earth,
And as honest as his birth:
All his actions should be such,
As to doe no thing too much;
Nor orepraise, nor yet condemne,
Nor out-valew, nor contemne,
Nor doe wrongs, nor yet receave.
. . . . . .
" Such a man, with every part,
I could give my very heart:
But, of one if short he came,
I can rest me where I am."*

The genius of this venerable author was particularly suited to that species of dramatical composition, at this time greatly in vogue, known by the appellation of Mask; and his poetical vein, together with the splendid taste and invention of Inigo Jones, who superintended the decorations to it, carried it to an extraordinary degree of perfection. I may refer for some of the most finished specimens to the Satyrs in Oberon, and the Witches in the Mask of Queens. It would be strange indeed, if the poet, who in early youth composed the Mask of Comus, had not diligently studied the writings of Ben Jonson.

One conspicuous feature in the productions of Jonson, of Fletcher, and many of the most eminent poets of this age, is the fervent strains in which they deliver themselves concerning purity, moral elevation, and virtue. Fletcher occasionally

* Ben Jonson's character of Charis forcibly reminds me of Lucy countess of Carlisle, at this time nineteen years of age, and two years married. *Vide supra*, p. 44.

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is wanton, and Jonson is coarse; this was the vice of their age. But they were men of sound and erect thinking; they were entirely strangers to that heart-withering scepticism, which I have so often heard reverend grey-beards inforce in a later age; they believed that the good upon record were good, and the morally great were great; and when they had occasion to express the sentiments of virtuous enthusiasm, they did not fear the imputation of having incroached on the office of the pulpit. They knew that a well prepared mind, pouring forth from lips of fire conceptions worthy of an angelic nature, would never be mistaken for a proser or a hypocrite.—It would extend my Essay too far, to give examples of this; they will readily present themselves to every one who will look for them.

One or two passages of a moral cast, but which, if possible, are still more eminent for the poetry that pervades them, I will venture upon. The following occurs in an Ode Pindaric, to the Memory of Sir H. Morison, who died in the flower of his youth.

"It is not growing, like a tree,
In bulke, doth make man better be;
Or standing long an oake, three hundred yeare,
To fall a logge at last, dry, bald and seare:
A lillie of a day
Is fairer farre in May,
Although it fall and die that night;—
It was the plant and flowre of light.
In small proportions we just beauties see;
And in short measures life may perfect bee."

[p] Underwoods.

The following is part of lord Lovel's discourse, when impleaded before his mistress, in the admirable comedy of the New Inn, Act the Third. No. IV. JONSON.

"They are the earthly, lower form of lovers,
Are only taken with what strikes the senses,
And love by that loose scale. Although I grant,
We like what 's fair and graceful in an object:—
All arts and actions do affect their beauty.
But, put the case, in travel I may meet
Some gorgeous structure, a brave frontispiece;
Shall I stay captive in the outer court,
Surprised with that, and not advance to know
Who dwells there, and inhabiteth the house?
There is my friendship to be made, within,
With what can love me again; not with the walls,
Doors, windows, architraves, the frieze, and cornice."

It is not however in lighter and incidental matters only, that Milton studied the great model afforded him by Jonson: we may find in him much that would almost tempt us "to hold opinion with Pythagoras," and to believe that the very spirit and souls of some men became transfused into their poetical successors. The address of our earlier poet to the Two Universities, prefixed to his most consummate performance, the comedy of the Fox, will strike every reader familiar with the happiest passages of Milton's prose, with its wonderful resemblance.

"Neuer, most equall sisters, had any man a wit so presently excellent, as that it could raise it selfe; but there must come both matter, occasion, commenders, and fauourers to it. If this be true, and that the fortune of all writers doth daily proue it, it behoues the carefull to prouide well toward these

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accidents; and, hauing acquir'd them, to preserue that part of reputation most tenderly, wherein the benefit of a friend is also defended. Hence is it, that I now render my selfe grate-full, and am studious to justifie the bounty of your act [their patronage of the comedy]; to which though your mere authority were satisfying, yet, it being an age wherein Poetrie and the Professors of it heare so ill on all sides, there will a reason bee look'd for in the subiect. It is certayne, nor can it with any fore-head be oppos'd, that the too-much licence of Poetasters in this time, hath much deform'd their mistris; that, euery day, their manifold and manifest ignorance doth sticke vnnaturall reproches vpon her:[p] but, for their petulancy, it were an act of the greatest iniustice, either to let the learned suffer, or so diuine a skill (which indeed should not bee attempted with vncleane hands) to fall under the least contempt. For, if men will impartially, and not a-squint, looke toward the offices and function of a Poet, they will easily conclude to themselues the impossibility of any mans being the good Poet, without first being a good man. He that is said to be able to inform yong-men to all good disciplines, inflame growne-men to all great vertues, keepe old-men in their best and supreme state, or as they decline to child-hood, recouer them to their first

[p] It were happy for the commonwealth, if our magistrates would take into their care the managing of our public sports and festival pastimes, that they might be, not such as were authorised a while since, the provocations of drunkenness and lust, but such as may inure and harden our bodies by martial exercises to all warlike skill and performance, and may civilise, adorn, and make discreet our minds, by the learned and affable meeting of academies, and the procurement of wise and artful recitations.
Reason of Church Government, Book II.

strength;[q] that comes forth the interpreter and arbiter of nature, a teacher of things diuine no lesse than humane, a master in manners; and can alone, or with a few, effect the businesse of man-kind: this, I take him, is no subiect for pride and ignorance to exercise their rayling rhetorique vpon.[r]

"But it will here be hastily answer'd, that the writers of these dayes are other things; that not only their manners, but their natures are inuerted, and nothing remayning with them of the dignitie of Poet, but the abused name, which euery scribe vsurps; that now, especially in dramatick, or as they terme it, stage poetrie, nothing but ribaldry, profanation, blasphemy, all licence of offence to God and man, is practis'd. I dare not denie a great part of this (and am sorry I dare not); because in some mens abortiue features (and would they had neuer boasted the light!) it is ouer-true: but that all are embarqu'd in this bold aduenture for hell, is a most vncharitable thought, and vtter'd, a more malicious slander. For my particular, I can, and from a most cleare conscience, affirme, that I haue euer trembled to thinke toward the least prophanenesse; have lothed the vse of such foule and vn-wash'd bawdry, as is

[q] These abilities are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of justice and public civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; teaching over the whole book of sanctity and virtue, through all the instances of example.

Reason of Church Government, Book II.

[r] When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditats, is industrious;—after all which done he takes himself to be inform'd in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him; if in this the most consummat act of his fidelity and ripenesse, no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that state of maturity, as not to be still mistrusted and suspected,—

Areopagitica.

No. IV. Jonson.

now made the foode of the scene: and, howsoeuer I cannot escape from some the imputation of sharpnesse, but that they will say, I haue taken a pride or lust to be bitter, and not my yongest infant but hath come into the world with all his teeth; I would aske of these supercilious politiques, What nation, societie, or generall order or state, I have provok'd? What publique person? Whether I haue not, in all these, preseru'd their dignitie, as mine owne person, safe?—As for those that will, by faults which charitie hath rak'd vp, or common honestie conceal'd, make themselues a name with the multitude, or (to draw their rude and beastly claps) care not whose liuing faces they intrench with their petulant stiles, may they doe it without a rivall for me! I choose rather to liue grau'd in obscuritie, then share with them in so preposterous a fame. Nor can I blame the wishes of those seuere and wiser patriots, who prouiding [foreseeing] the hurts these licentious spirits may doe in a state, desire rather to see fooles and deuils, and those antique reliques of barbarism retriu'd, with all other ridiculous and exploded follies, then behold the wounds of priuate men, of princes, and nations.—

"I cannot but be serious in a cause of this nature, wherein my fame, and the reputation of divers honest and learned are the question; when a name so ful of authority, antiquity, and all great marke [the name of Poet], is, through their insolence, become the lowest scorne of the age, and those men subiect to the petulancy of every vernaculous orator, that were wont to bee the care of kings and happiest monarchs. This it is, that hath not only rap't me to present indignation, but made me studious heretofore by all my actions to stand off from them;

which may most appeare in this my latest worke (which you, most learned arbitresses, haue seene, judg'd, and to my crown, approu'd), wherein I have labour'd for their [the public] instruction and amendment, to reduce not onely the ancient forms, but manners of the scene, the easinesse, the propriety, the innocence, and last the doctrine, which is the principall end of poesie, to informe men in the best reason of liuing.—

" For the present, most reuerenced sisters, as I have car'd to be thankefull for your affections past, and here made the vnderstanding acquainted, with some ground of your fauours; let me not despaire their continuance, to the maturing of some worthier fruits: wherein, if my Muses be true to me, I shall raise the despis'd head of Poetrie againe, and stripping her out of those rotten and base rags wherwith the Times haue adulterated her form, restore her to her primitiue habit, feature and maiesty,[1] and render her worthy to be imbraced and kist of all the great and master-spirits of our world."[2]

The resemblance between Milton and our elder bard is in many respects conspicuous. They were both of them emphatically poets who had sounded the depths, and formed themselves in the school, of classic lore. Milton seems to have

[1] Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader, that for some years yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted; as being a work, not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine, nor to be obtained by the invocation of Dame Memory, and her Siren Daughters.

Reason of Church Government, Book II.

[2] A good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. *Areopagitica.*

Let the reader compare these passages of Ben Jonson with the Preface to the *Theatrum Poetarum*, and he will then see what it is to write like Milton.

No. IV. Jonson.

learned from his precursor the habit of at all times bringing forth with parade the results of his learning, though he never obtrudes them in the harsh, raw and repulsive manner which may frequently be charged upon Jonson. He learned also from the elder poet, as is most palpably to be seen in the above extract, Ben Jonson's mode of expressing the pride of a great nature, though in this also he does it, not in Jonson's offensive manner, not (as certainly is sometimes the case with Jonson) with the surliness of a pedant, but with inimitable dignity and grace, and with "a temperance that gives it smoothness." It would be almost affronting to the reader to say, that Ben Jonson does not move in verse, as Milton does, with that sober and unconscious pomp, as if he were Apollo himself, King of the Sacred Hill; that he has not Milton's majesty of invention; and that it is not the case with him, as with Milton, that every reader of just feeling bows before him with willing submission, and finds no impulse to repine at so just an empire.

The difference between the two poets may perhaps best be illustrated from the topic of religion. They had neither of them one spark of libertine and latitudinarian unbelief. But Jonson was not, like Milton, penetrated with his religion. It is to him a sort of servitude. He "trembles to think toward the least profaneness." His religion is therefore what I may call his Sunday's garb. At other times, it is not the principle that actuates, but the check that controls him. But in Milton, it is the element in which he breathes, a part of his nature. He acts, "as ever in his great task-masker's eye:" And this is not his misfortune; but he rejoices in his condition, that he

has so great, so wise, and so sublime a being, to whom to render his audit. It encourages him to a chastised and a sacred boldness. He feels that he has a helper, an ally, and is a "labourer together with God." He stands unabashed in his presence, and finds within him a conscious affinity to the divine nature. This his widow expresses in her mode, when, "being asked whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from those authors, and answered with eagerness, that he stole from nobody but the Muse who inspired him; and being further questioned by a lady who was present, Who the Muse was, she replied, It was God's grace and the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly."[u]

[u] Life of Milton, by Newton, bishop of Bristol.

No. V.

ADDITION TO CHAPTER XII,

PAGE 310.

No. V. Book of Fortune.

It appears upon further examination, that the book here described is not altogether the invention of John Philips, but is founded on a production of similar dimensions, written originally in Italian, and printed at Brescia in 1484, under the title of "*Sorte Composite per lo Nobile Ingegno di Lorenzo Spirito, Perugino.*"[a] This book was further reprinted, at Bologna in 1508, and at Perugia in 1532, under the title of "*Libro di Ventura.*" A version of this composition into French is also noticed, which appears to be of an early period, but which is without date of place or time.

A translation of this work into English lies before me, called "The Book of Fortune," in folio, printed for Brabazon Aylmer, 1698. The English version however is of an old date, and to judge from its antique phraseology, and the lameness of its versification, must have been nearly coeval with the introduction of printing into this island. In the edition of 1698

[a] Panzer, Annales Typographici, Vol. I, p. 246, No. 20.

the reader is apprised, that, "Whereas all other impressions of this Book of Fortune hath been printed of an old fashioned black character, it was thought advisable to reprint this edition of a different sort of letter, being such as is now in use, and easier to be read." The editor further speaks of "several errors having been corrected in this, that hath escaped many other editions: but, as to the book itself, there is neither any addition, diminution or alteration from what it was before, but is now printed word for word with the former impressions, except where the sense has sometimes been a little imperfect, which is now amended with much care and pains."

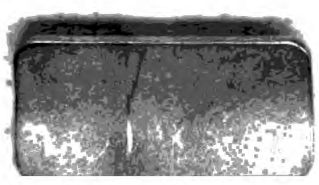
From all this it appears, that the book had been popular and in considerable circulation, in several countries of Europe. From what feelings in the purchaser it came to obtain such universal acceptance, would be a curious speculation. The French translation calls it "a pastime by the fortune of dice, in which are given by a subtle calculation answers to twenty foolish questions and demands, such as simple and ignorant people are accustomed to propose:"[b] and the English edition of 1698 announces itself as "fit for honest recreation after more serious affairs or studies, and necessary to drive away evil thoughts and fantacies, with which many are oppressed." But this production is classed among the prohibited books, in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the council of Trent; and when we consider how superstitious the ages were in which it had most general acceptance, respecting witches, and apparitions, and astrology, it may well be doubted whether many of the

[b] Panzer, Vol. IV, p. 126, No. 476.

No. V. Book of Fortune.

persons who resorted to the use of this book, did not shake their dice with a trembling hand, and search for the relief of their curiosity with inconceivable anxieties.

John Philips may be considered as having in a great degree cast the work into a new mould. He has enlarged the number of questions from twenty to twenty-four; his kings are of a much more humorous and whimsical cast; the philosophers in the old book are the most eminent Greeks and Romans (Socrates, Plato, Solon, Thales), and in his are mostly taken from the Arabians and the dark ages; and the Astronomers (for so they are called in his model) are perhaps all of them imaginary, while his Astrologers are almost without exception the Almanac-makers about the period in which he wrote. The verses, in which the response is returned to the trembling enquirer, are in the old book in an eight syllable metre, except in such examples as have a syllable redundant, or a syllable wanting; and John Philips's comparatively smooth verses are uniformly in a ten syllable metre. In conclusion, we must deny to John Philips the merit of originality, and that superior elasticity of mind which he might have laid claim to, if his book had been without an archetype; while at the same time we must admit in it a wonderful facility of labour and perseverance in execution, which are so much the more extraordinary, as he himself must have regarded his work as an empty trifle.

THE END.

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